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HELMOLD: CHRONICLER OF THE NORTH SAXON MISSIONS.*

For the propagation of the faith among the heathen peoples of medieval Europe, Saxony, particularly northern Saxony, was, in the period after Charlemagne, situated much as the Frankish country had been in the Merovingian age. Geographically the Frankish church was charged with the conversion of the German peoples east of the Rhine, the Low Countries of today, and across the Channel in Britain. Geographically the Saxon church was charged with the conversion of the Danes and Slavs who lived north and east of its precincts. The importance of this charge can hardly be exaggerated. The conversion of the Danes was nearly a prerequisite of the Christianization of the Norwegians and Swedes. Young, vigorous Germanic peoples, still given to wandering, these Scandinavians could be to the church not only an asset in themselves but also energetic carriers of the Gospel to more distant peoples. Could, for example, bounds even then have been set to the spread of the Byzantine church in Russia by the conversion of the Swedes in Scandinavia? Not less great were possibilities among the Slavs. A much more tractable folk than the northland Germans, the Slavs occupied central Europe from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

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The Saxon church accepted the charge of converting the Danes and the Slavs, but its success was not what it should have been. The Carolingian tradition lived on. To the Saxons the cross had come with the sword, both emblems of subjection, and submit the Saxons would not without a fierce struggle. To the Danes and Slavs the Saxons in turn came bearing the cross with the sword, and the Danes and Slavs would not without a struggle accept the order represented by the emblems. Long and determined was their resistance. In the end both peoples were brought into the fold, the Danes more happily than the Slavs. Of the medieval Slavia in northwest Germany there is no obvious trace today. As the Indian of America was thrust westward, suffering untold wrongs, and was made to yield his lands, the Slav was made to vanish before the eastward-bearing tide of the German church and state.

Two churchmen surpassed others in completeness and reliability in their writings about these frontier missions: Adam,[1] a canon of the cathedral of Bremen, and Helmold,[2] a parish priest ministering to the spiritual needs of a tiny hamlet, Bosau, then on an island in the Plöner-See not many miles southwest of Lübeck. Both tell of the frontier[3] of which these missions were part, a frontier

[1] *M. G. H., SS. X*, Magistri Adam Bremensis *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*. Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis seperatim editi. Bernhard Schmeidler (ed.). 3d ed. Hanover and Leipzig, 1917.

[2] The text appeared in several editions before Leibnitz printed it in his *Scriptores rerum Brunsvicensium* (Hanoverae, 1707-1711). The first truly critical edition was prepared by J. M. Lappenberg for the folio series of the *M. G. H., SS.* (Hanover, 1869). Pertz revised the Lappenberg version for the *in usum scholarum* series of the M. G. H. (Hanover, 1868). The most recent revision, on which the references to this paper are based, is by Bernhard Schmeidler also in the *in usum scholarum* series (Hanover and Leipzig, 1917). There have been two translations of the chronicle into Danish (Copenhagen, 1880, 1881) and one into Polish (Warsaw, 1862). J. C. M. Laurent translated it into German for *Die Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit* (Leipzig, 1852). Wattenbach revised the Laurent translation for a new edition of the same collection (Leipzig, 1888).

[3] For the distinction of this frontier at different times, *vide* Thompson, *Feudal Germany* (Chicago, 1928), pp. 476-477. "The frontier of medieval Germany lay at 'the hither edge of free land' as truly as did the American frontier." *Ibid.*, pp. 495-496.

which, although gone now nearly a thousand years, was not essentially unlike that just passed in America. There was the same struggle for land which in the economy of both America and of medieval Saxony was the source of income, therefore of wealth, therefore of power.[4] There was the same movement of settlers out into the territory wrested from the weaker people, the same disregard for human life and rights; in fine, much the same rough existence.[5] One might as profitably review Adam as Helmold. Helmold, at Bosau, however, was nearer things as they were than Adam at Bremen. Helmold possibly reflects better than Adam the mind of the missionary in the field. Indeed, the missions determined his personal equation: he has words of praise for everyone and everything that contributed to their success, words of censure for anyone and anything that stood in the way of their furtherance. Helmold, finally, limits his chronicle to the story of the Slavic mission in which the Saxons, not thwarted as they were in Scandinavia, showed in its nearly primitive state the nature of that racial element which has made so much of the world English.

I

Of Helmold little is known. He was born not later than 1125,[6] probably in Saxony west of the Elbe, but came into Holstein as a youth.[7] He states that Gerold, who had been master of the school

[4] Although he wrote of an earlier period than Helmold, Widukind aptly used Sallust's words (Jugurtha, ch. 94) to describe the issue: "his [the Saxons] pro gloria et pro magno latoque imperio, illis [the Slavs] pro libertate ac ultima servitute varie certantibus." *Rer. Gest. Sax.*, II, 20.

[5] Thompson has collected a mass of information relating to life on the Saxon frontier and his bibliographies point the way to students who would go further in this field. For example: cattle stealing, p. 477; border ruffianism and cross-marriages, pp. 392 note 2, 523; character of pioneer settlers, p. 505; land surveys and village plans in new territory, pp. 524 *seq.* Although Friedrich List early in the last century noted the importance of the American frontier as a key by which much European history might be opened to understanding, Thompson is the first to make use of the key. *Vide* his *Feudal Germany* and *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages, 300-1300* (New York, 1928), espec. ch. 20.

[6] Schmeidler, p. vi and notes 5 and 6.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. vii, viii; Helm., I, 14.

in Brunswick and who later became his bishop in Oldenburg-Lübeck, had been his teacher. Helmold, however, did not necessarily get his education at Brunswick.[8] In 1150, he was deacon at Neu-Münster and for a number of years he must have been actively interested in the work of that community.[9] Six years later he travelled in Saxony and the nearby Slav lands with Bishop Gerold [10] who some time between 1156 and 1163 assigned him to the pastorate of Bosau. There he wrote his chronicle—the *Chronica Slavorum*—as nearly as can be determined from internal evidence, between 1164 and 1172. There, too, Bishop Gerold came to die, August 13, 1163.[11] When Helmold died is not known. The date of his death must be placed after 1172, the year in which he probably completed the second book of his chronicle.[12] Arnold of Lübeck, Helmold's continuator, thought this book had been left unfinished.[13] Its last chapter, however, refutes Arnold who no doubt rested his belief on its brevity as compared with the first book and on its lack of a formal conclusion.

Helmold's chronicle is based on information which he got from other men who had for the most part been eye-witnesses of the events he narrated,[14] his own knowledge which evidently was well-grounded, and certain written sources which can generally be determined.[15] Among his oral sources were without doubt Bishops Vicelin, Gerold, and, less certainly, Conrad who succeeded

[8] Helm., pref. lib. I, I, 80; Regel, *Helmold und seine Quellen* (Jena, 1883), p. 6.

[9] Helm., I, 78, 79.

[10] *Ibid.*, I, 88, 89.

[11] Schmeidler, p. x; Helm., I, 95.

[12] Schmeidler, pp. vi, x.

[13] *Chron. Slav.* (Pertz, ed.), I, prol. Von Breska suspected that Helmold had planned to write a third book: "Ueber die Zeit in welcher Helmold die beiden Bücher seiner Chronik abfasste" in *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, XXII (1882), 603-604. The tone of the last chapter (II, 14) shows that Helmold intended to conclude his work with it.

[14] Helm., I, 34.

[15] Besides Adam of Bremen, *Vita S. Willehadi*, Rimberti *Vita Anskarii*, Ekkehardi *Chronicon Wirziburgense*, and perhaps indirectly, if at all, *Annales S. Disibodi*, *Annales Rosenveldenses*. Cf. Schmeidler, pp. xvii, xviii, 58, note 6; Von Breska, *Untersuchungen über die Nachrichten Helmolds* (Lübeck, 1880).

Gerold. He also may have obtained some information from Count Adolph of Holstein and his followers.[16]

Fierce controversies have taken place over Helmold's use of his sources, especially the oral sources and over his own veracity and manipulation of what he found written.[17] One critic[18] pointed out that Helmold had not dealt fairly with his metropolitan see. In order to prove that his own bishopric was as old as that of Hamburg-Bremen and also that it was of imperial foundation, Helmold is said to have invented a bishop, Marco. Moreover, that his bishopric might be exalted and also enriched, Helmold is accused of falsifying his account of one of the Slavic princes, and of tampering with the facts of the life of Bishop Vicelin.

If these criticisms had remained unchallenged and unrefuted, about a hundred years of Saxon-Wendish history would have rested only on very unreliable foundations.[19] A number of scholars, however, appeared in defense of Helmold. A bishop named Marco was discovered who, although seated at Schleswig, had had charge of episcopal work in the diocese of Oldenburg. Helmold, it was shown, had in his account of the Slavic prince followed traditions current in Saxony and Holstein. These traditions, common knowledge, in the country and at the time in which Helmold wrote, the chronicler would not have dared to falsify. The controversy over Helmold's treatment of the life of Vicelin also ended in Helmold's favor after every detail had been tartly examined and checked.

Helmold's chief written source for the *Slavic Chronicle* was the work of Adam of Bremen. In the first twenty-four chapters of his chronicle he followed Adam often verbatim or in paraphrase, but never slavishly. Helmold checked Adam's statements, freely correcting or amplifying them either from his own knowledge or from other sources. Then, too, Helmold had his own point of view.

[16] Schmeidler, p. xvi.

[17] Schmeidler summarizes the course of these controversies, pp. xi-xvi; see also Regel, pp. 38-41.

[18] Schirren, *Beiträge zur Kritik älterer holsteinischer Geschichtsquellen* (Leipzig, 1876).

[19] As von Breska puts it, "auf unzuverlässigem Sumpfboden," p. 1.

Thus, Adam attributed the success of the Saxon mission chiefly to the churchmen; Helmold also gave credit for it to the secular authorities.[20] Not less independent was he in the use of the few other lives, annals, and chronicles of which traces are evident in his work or to which he referred. Only once did he transcribe a document[21]—how accurately cannot be determined, for the original has not been discovered. Writing at Bosau away from archival centers, it is likely that he could rely largely only on his memory in giving the substance of documents which he may have seen or known from what others who had access to them may have told him. That Helmold was careful in the use of such material seems to be proved by the fact that he did not make exact statements of what was in documents, even when he would have wished to be exact; as, for example, in regard to the gifts made to the diocese on the occasion of the translation of the see from Oldenburg to Lübeck.[22]

By and large, then, Helmold has well withstood the barbed shafts of criticism which have been directed against him. His personal equation is the result of an altogether laudable purpose, whether considered from the point of view of his duty as a priest working on the frontier in daily contact with souls who did not and would not acknowledge the one true God, or from the point of view of a German, more narrowly a Saxon, interested, sordidly or altruistically, in the expansion of his own people. He has a well developed sense of historical truth, for he does not let his bias get the better of him. He seldom fails when checked against other sources. His failure to use documents does not militate against his trustworthiness; after all, in the story he had to tell, keen powers of observation were at least as essential as documents, perhaps preferable,—and Helmold was a keen observer of men and things and events.[23] Even the far from trustworthy chapters, which he occasionally inserts, on the emperors' affairs in Italy, for example, those on the Investiture Struggle,[24] are neither cause

[20] Von Breska, pp. 11-12; Regel, pp. 8-15.
[21] Helm., I, 92.
[22] *Ibid.*, I, 90. Cf. Regel, pp. 26-28.
[23] *Ibid.*, I, 12, 89.
[24] *Ibid.*, I, 28-30, 32, 33. Fault may also be found with his account of Peter the Hermit, I, 31; the preaching of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, I, 59; the

for reproaching Helmold nor without value. May one reasonably expect that the hamlet, Bosau, would have a very accurate knowledge of distant events when the Main Streets of today, with incomparably superior agencies for gathering news, know so little of what is actually going on in the world? These chapters are valuable as a record of what people on the northern frontier with Danes and Slavs to worry about *thought* had happened which was after all the basis of their opinions and of their attitude on public questions.

II

By Helmold's time the Saxony of the heroic struggle of Widukind with Charlemagne had been much changed. Its Carolingian divisions had so far lost their significance that Adam of Bremen and Helmold mention them only incidentally as territories which peasants were induced to leave in order to settle the lands wrested from the Slavs.[25] Petty landowners developed gradually within these divisions into feudal lords and the names of their holdings superseded those of the older regions.

Conditions were opportune for the rise of these land holders. The Danes as well as the Slavs menaced Saxony and the people needed protection. Among the most valiant protectors of Saxony was one, Liudolph, who, in the days of Louis the German, not only warred on the Slavs but also so far extended his power in Saxony that he was sometimes called "Duke of the East Saxons".[26] His successors were not less able. A grandson, Otto,[27] dabbled in the politics of the kingdom, and his son, Henry, followed Conrad of Franconia on the throne. The Liudolphings themselves raised up another family when Otto I gave his faithful henchman, Hermann

crowning of Frederick I, I, 81; the confusing of Calixtus with Paschal III and of Ancona with Genoa, II, 10.

[25] Neither Adam of Bremen nor Helmold mentions Eastphalia or Angria and their people. Westphalia or the Westphalians are mentioned by Adam, I, 2; Helm., I, 57, 63, 65, 92; II, 2.

[26] Waitz, *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reichs unter König Heinrich* I (Leipzig, 1885), Exkurs I.

[27] Widuk., I, 16; Waitz, *Heinrich* I, pp. 10-12.

Billung, not only Saxony with the ducal title, but also as margrave extensive holdings in the Slavic territory across the Elbe.[28] Four Billung dukes succeeded Hermann and their deeds and misdeeds appear often in Helmold's chronicle before the line ended in two daughters.[29] The Billung lands then were divided. The western parts passed through the marriage of one daughter, Eilica, to Henry the Proud, duke of Bavaria, eventually to Henry the Lion, Helmold's lay hero and unquestionably one of the greatest of medieval administrators and statesmen. The eastern parts of the Billung possessions passed through the marriage of the other daughter, Wulfhilda, to Otto, count of Ballenstädt to Albert the Bear, second only to Henry the Lion in his ability to administer his lands and maintain himself in the fore of politics.

By the side of Henry the Lion and Albert the Bear stood, among others, in Helmold's time, two Adolphs, successively counts of Holstein. The rise of their family is typical also of the changes which transformed Carolingian Saxony into the duchy of Adam of Bremen and Helmold.[30] Holstein was part of the old trans-Elbian or Nordalbingian Saxony of Carolingian times which included also Charlemagne's Danish Mark and Slavic Wagria.[31] Hermann Billung had assigned this territory to a count whose seat was chiefly at Hamburg.[32] He and his successors coöperated loyally with the Billungs in their frontier work, though they lost the Danish Mark to Cnut of Denmark by imperial cession in 1035. When the line died out in 1110, Lothar of Supplinburg, who had received Saxony when the Billungs became extinct, made Adolph, count of Schauenburg,[33] later corrupted into Schaumburg, his

[28] Widuk., II, 4; Adam, II, 8 (7), 9 (8); Thompson, p. 183 note 2; Köpke-Dümmler, *Kaiser Otto der Grosse* (Leipzig, 1876), pp. 55-57, 570-579; Steindorff, *De Ducatus, qui Billingorum dicitur, in Saxonia Origine et Progressu* (Berolini, 1863).

[29] Bernhard I (or Benno) (973-1011); Bernhard II (1011-1059), Ordulph (1059-1071), Magnus (1071-1106). Annal. Sax., *an.*, 1106; Helm., I, 35.

[30] Kretschmer, *Historische Geographie von Mitteleuropa* (München und Berlin, 1904), p. 231.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 236-237, 364.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 364; Helm., I, 35.

[33] Adolph III of Schauenburg became Adolph I of Holstein (1110-1122) and his son, Adolph II, succeeded him (1122-1164). Helm., I, 36.

vassal in the Nordalbingian territory. Of the Saxon divisions of Charlemagne's time only Nordalbingia and its three sections, Holzatia or Holstein, Sturmaria, and the Ditmarsch, preserved their ancient identities into Helmold's period.

In Saxony, on both sides of the Elbe, there also grew up great ecclesiastical estates. Monasteries multiplied, but did not as institutions play so important a rôle politically as did the bishoprics. Charlemagne and Louis the Pious divided the Saxon territory into nine dioceses under metropolitans seated in the older sections of Germany—Cologne and Mayence.[34] The bishoprics were for the most part struggling institutions,[35] rich indeed in lands that because of the incursions of Danes and Slavs and in some cases of Hungarians yielded little. Even the Saxons who were commanded to pay the episcopal tithes were not for years thoroughly Christianized.[36] This fact Charlemagne clearly recognized by not attempting to evangelize the peoples on the Saxon border. Against the Danes his Mark was a defense only and from the Slavs he was content to receive tribute.[37] Louis the Pious, less experienced and more visionary, made the decision to take another step forward to carry the Gospel from Saxony into the Scandinavian north

[34] In the religious settlement of 777 the bishopric of Würzburg and probably that of Liége received mission spheres in Saxony; also the monasteries of Fulda, Amorbach, Hersfeld and Corbie. Later insurrections made reassignments necessary. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (Leipzig, 1887-1925), II, 341-343, 346.

[35] Not until Unwan (1013-1029), of the wealthy old Saxon family of the Immedinger, became archbishop, did the Hamburg-Bremen church begin to prosper. Henry II seldom failed to consider the personal wealth of a possible candidate for a see; he expected the candidate to use this wealth to develop his diocese. Adalbert (1043-1071) also was wealthy in his own right. Adam, II, 47 (45), *seq.*; III, *passim*. Thompson, p. 130. Diocesan lines in Saxony, moreover, were determined often without reference to the gaus. Contrast the respect in which the clan was held in Ireland. Bellesheim, *Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in Irland* (Mainz, 1890-1891), I, 91.

[36] For late instances of Saxon paganism *vide* Adam, II, 48 (46); Widuk., I, 12. For Charlemagne's regulations *vide* Hauck, II, 352-353.

[37] Charlemagne expected a Danish attack on Saxony as early as 808. Louis the Pious alienated the friendly Abodrites when he involved himself in a Danish succession quarrel in which they also were interested. Cf. *Ann. Einh.*, *ann.*, 808 *seq.* Hauck, II, 612-613; III, 70-72.

and into the Wendish east. The first attempts were unfortunate except that they brought to the fore Anskar as a missionary, and, after he in turn had met with reverses, his installation as archbishop over the combined sees of Hamburg and Bremen.[38] Anskar looked, however, to the north rather than to the east and his interests influenced for a long time the direction of the activities of his successors. Hamburg-Bremen, before it had suffragans in the Slav country, counted three sees in Denmark.[39] Conditions in the Elbe Wendland also favored this northward expansion. Not until Hermann Billung had made the Slavic Wagrians, Abodrites and other tribes mindful of the jurisdiction which Otto I had assumed for him in their country[40] could there be thought of seating a suffragan in the Wendish regions.

Oldenburg was the first see, founded about 968,[41] and if Helmold did not exaggerate, it made remarkable progress in a short time. The lands with which Otto I endowed the bishopric on the borders of the Danish country and in Slavia had been frequently wasted by these enemies of the Saxons and consequently were, "though fertile of crops," for the most part deserted. "But when through the mercy of God," wrote Hemold, "and the valor of Otto the Great a lasting peace was everywhere established, the deserted places of Wagria and the country of Schleswig began to be repeopled, and there was not left any corner which was not conspicuous for its towns and villages, and also for its many

[38] *Vita Anskarii*, chs. 23, 24; Adam, I, 24 (26).

[39] When Anskar died there was not a church beyond the German border. The reports of his biographer, Rimbert, that Anskar multos ad fidei gratiam provocabat, and of Adam that he converted innumerabilem multitudinem must be discounted. *Vita Anskarii*, ch. 24; Adam, I, 17 (19). Adaldag (937-988), the sixth successor of Anskar, consecrated in 947 or shortly before three Germans, probably selected by Otto I, for bishoprics at Schleswig, Ribe, and Aarhus. Adam, II, 4. Two of them are mentioned in Richeri, *Hist.*, II, 69, as being present at a synod held in 948 at Ingelheim. Köpke-Dümmler, *Otto der Grosse*, p. 166 and note 1.

[40] Widuk., III, 68.

[41] Adam, II, 16 (14); Helm., I, 12. The date is much disputed. Cf. Hauck, III, 106-107 and notes; Köpke-Dümmler, *Otto der Grosse*, p. 505 note 2; Curschmann, "Die Entstehung des Bistums Aldenburg" in *Histor. Vierteljahrschrift*, XIV (1911), 182-198.

monasteries." [42] Then came destruction. In 982, the second Otto met with defeat in Calabria in Italy and Bernhard I, Hermann's son, by moving to his aid, made possible a pagan reaction in both Denmark and Slavia.[43] Not until 996 did a peace without victory come to the Saxons.[44] Only ruins were left for an archaeologist to read and interpret, and Helmold turned archaeologist. Nearly two hundred years after the storm, he wrote:

> There still remain very many indications of that old occupation, particularly in the forest which in a wide sweep extends from the city of Lütjenburg into Schleswig. Its vast and almost impenetrable solitude shows among the stoutest trees of the woods traces of the furrows which had separated the plowlands of former times. Wall structures indicate the plans of towns and also of cities. In many streams ancient embankments once thrown up to collect the tributary waters for the mills show that the whole region was once upon a time inhabited by Saxons.[45]

Recovery was slow and the order that was established was not the order which had been. Denmark acknowledged Christ but not so much on account of the preaching of the missionaries of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen as through the Danish kings. Sweyn Forked Beard, who seems to have been incorrigibly pagan, was converted [46] as an exile in England and also was there imbued with the ways of princes with the church. Without consulting the prelates of Hamburg-Bremen who, since Anskar's time had had the commission to work in the north, he brought missionaries and even a bishop from England to work in his Scandinavian dominions.[47] The situation, extremely embarrassing to the metropolitan of Hamburg-Bremen, was only temporarily relieved by the death of the king and of the archbishop. This development proceeded more rapidly under Cnut the Great, king in England, Norway and Denmark; even Sweden felt his influence. In Cnut's time the Danes lost much of their primitive character and devel-

[42] Helm., I, 12.

[43] Adam, II, 24 (21); Helm., I, 13; Thiet., III, 20 (12). Uhlirz, *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Otto II und Otto III* (Leipzig, 1902), pp. 178-179.

[44] *Ann. Qued., an.*, 996.

[45] Helm., I, 12; Thompson, p. 491.

[46] Adam, II, 39 (37).

[47] *Ibid.*, II, 41 (39).

oped what may be called a "national" disposition. The kinglets who had warred on one another, making the seas unsafe by their piratical cruisings, and who had connived with the Slavs against the German political and religious establishments, began to disappear. The Danes drew together, became interested in curbing the Slavs and in expanding their trade and even their possessions in the Saxon northland. With a Christian prince in the north, Hamburg-Bremen renewed its evangelizing efforts, hopeful now of making sure of its mission field. Cnut, however, was too closely connected with England and too well schooled in the ways of kings with the church.[48] Otto I's policy was bearing evil fruit for the prelates of Hamburg-Bremen.

In the Slav country recovery also was slow, but the new order was not so different from the old as in Scandinavia for the reason that the Slavs lacked the Germanic ability to organize themselves with effectiveness politically, and through such organization eventually to win political and religious independence.[49] After the uprising of 983 the see of Oldenburg was largely a name. It received very little support from the mother church. One of its bishops, Volkward, must have regarded the situation of the diocese as hopeless, for he went to Sweden as a missionary,[50] and his successor, Reginbert, took his title from the Slavic Mecklenburg because he could not occupy his see.[51] Bernhard (1013 or 1014-

[48] Adam, II, 49 (47), 53 (55); Bresslau, *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Konrad II* (Leipzig, 1879-1884), I, 103. Olaf Trygvasson (996-1000) and St. Olaf II (1015-1030) also used English priests and bishops to bring about the conversion of the Norwegians. Adam, II, 37 (35), 47 (49), 57 (55); IV, 34 (33). In Sweden Olaf the Lap-king (993-1024), who was the first Christian king of Sweden, named a Scandinavian to the bishopric he founded at Scara. *Ibid.*, I, 41 (39), 57 (55), 58 (56), 62 (60). Unwan, archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, secured from these kings the recognition of his metropolitan rights through his kindly diplomacy and through the cordial relations which obtained between Cnut the Great and Conrad II.

[49] Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte* (Graz, 1887), p. 334.

[50] Adam, II, 46 (44). He had been driven from his diocese.

[51] Thiet., VI, 43 (30); *Ann. Qued., an.*, 992; Helm., I, 17, who focusses Adam's statement, In Sclavania vero [Libentius senior] archiepiscopus Folcwardum, deinde Reginbertum . . . by prefixing his own words, Defuncto igitur Ezicone in Aldenburg successit, to what he took from Adam, II, 46 (44).

1023), his successor, was the first bishop of Oldenburg who, supported by Archbishop Unwan of Hamburg-Bremen, could think of rehabilitating the diocese. To this end he began to inquire what possessions and revenues his church had received from Otto I. With difficulty he persuaded the Slavs to promise to pay him tithes. Bernhard's pains availed him little. The Billung duke was "wholly infected with avarice and loaded the Slavs of the vicinity with so many payments of taxes that they were neither mindful of God nor in any way friendly toward the priests."[52] Bernhard then went off to live the rest of his life with his friend Bernward, bishop of Hildesheim.[53] His ill-timed inquisition and the grasping conduct of the Billung duke were largely responsible for the second great uprising of the Elbe Slavs in 1018. The killing of the Abodrite chief Udo, "not much of a Christian" and extremely cruel, by a Saxon deserter, precipitated hostilities. Udo's son, Gottschalk, was at the time studying at Lüneburg, but

> when he learned of his father's death, he rejected the faith with his letters, . . . and, having brought together a multitude of robbers, he smote out of vengeance for his father the whole land of the Nordalbingians. . . . Nothing remained . . . except . . . the fortified places, ... To these certain armed men had betaken themselves with their women and children and the goods that had survived the pillage.

Like Saul, however, Gottschalk was converted in the midst of the tumult, but the penalty was exile. At the court of Cnut the Great he tarried "for many days and years," winning not only fame by his valorous deeds, but also the hand of the king's daughter.[54]

[52] Helm, I, 18.

[53] Thangmari *Vita Bernwardi*, ch. 49; *Ann. Hild.*, *an.*, 1022. Cf. Lüntzel, *Geschichte der Diöcese und Stadt Hildesheim* (Hildesheim, 1858), I, 181.

[54] Adam, II, 66 (64); Helm., I, 19; Thiet., IX, 5 (4). Helmold's reference to Gottschalk's bringing together a multitude of robbers reflects Slav modes of warfare, not unlike the Indians'—strike and disappear. Ambushes were frequent and treacherous attacks common. Very characteristic of the American frontier is chief Billug's "alibi" when Bishop Wago complained about the robberies perpetrated on his tenants: Si quid autem forefactum fuisset, latronum hoc insidiis contigisse, qui de Ranis sive Wilzis commeantes forte nec suis parcerent. And Wago was not exactly a "simple man" for having

Only slowly did the church rise again from its ashes. The bishops found in the Billung dukes enemies who would stop at nothing to provoke a Slav rising that would destroy the churches and monasteries and give them a pretext to establish for themselves exclusive, and revenue-producing, dominion over the northern Wend lands.[55] The stay of the church against the duke should have been the emperor, but the Salians now reigning were hated in Saxony and intent upon other quests. Into this dark sky there burst, however, two bright lights, illuminating everything.

Gottschalk left Denmark to reclaim his Abodrite heritage, and he was resolved that his people, long divided over religion, should acknowledge Christ and support the church. Politically he may have dreamed of a Slav state in feudal dependence on Saxony. Both Adam and Helmold were enthusiastic about Gottschalk. "The work of God prospered in his hands": heathens flocked to receive baptism; "the churches which had heretofore stood in ruins were rebuilt"; calls went out for "priests and ministers of the Word who were to instruct the untutored minds of the pagans in the teachings of the faith . . . and it came to pass that his territories abounded in churches and the churches in priests." [56]

Gottschalk could not have had a more earnest supporter of his plans than the archbishop, Adalbert, whom Henry III appointed in 1043 [57] to fill the then vacant see of Hamburg-Bremen expressly to hold Saxony for the Salians against the Billung duke, Ordulph, and the Danish king, Sweyn Estridsen.[58]

been facile persuasum. I, 14. For some other instances of Slavic treachery, *vide* I, 25, 27, 29, 38, 65, 87; II, 4; of wars as raids, I, 19, 34-36, 38, 48, 55, 56, 67; II, 6.

[55] Thompson, pp. 410-412.

[56] Adam, II, 79 (75); III, 19-21 (18-20); Helm., I, 20. I Mach. ii, 47.

[57] Lambert of Hersfeld gives the date 1045. *Annal., an.*, 1045, but *vide* Hauck, III, 649 note 1; Thompson, pp. 185 *seq.* "The prospect of the speedy conversion of the Baltic Slavs roused the fury of the Billunger, for they had no mind to see the tribute diminished by the extension of the church's tithe." *Ibid.*, pp. 413-414.

[58] Magnus (1042-1047), Sweyn's predecessor, had given his daughter in marriage to the Billung, Ordulph, son and successor of Duke Bernhard II (1011-1059). Magnus "coveted possession of the mouths of the rivers flowing into the Baltic in the interest of the Danish Baltic trade, while the Saxon Duke

Adam of Bremen devoted the third book of his history of the Hamburg prelates to Adalbert, and his characterization has been pronounced one of the best analyses of a personality in medieval historical literature.[59] Adalbert was not tainted by the sins of his contemporaries in ecclesiastical office, but his virtues ran to extremes.[60] His generosity was indiscreet, his hospitality lavish and unceasing—from every quarter of the Christian world came unattached bishops and priests to stay with him as long as they cared.[61] Adalbert could not read men.[62] Above all he was ambitious, but not for himself. He would exalt Hamburg-Bremen, more correctly Hamburg, for he moved his seat from Bremen to Hamburg, "the fertile mother of nations".[63] Hamburg must rank with the first sees of Germany; hence also his desire to make himself a patriarch.[64]

This idea, personally very characteristic of Adalbert, fitted well into the northern situation and was not out of harmony with what might be in Slavia. Sweyn Estridsen continued the policy of Cnut the Great, his uncle, with respect to the dynastic control of the church. Adalbert could not on the one hand resist the establishment in Scandinavia of an order which since Otto I's time had been constitutionally basic in the Empire; he could not, on the

wanted to provoke the Abodrites and Wilzi into a new revolt which would destroy the churches again being established in their lands, use the rising as a pretext for Saxon intervention, and so establish his dominion and tribute over them without any competition from the church." The allies defeated the Slavs at Lyrskog Heath in Schleswig (1043), and in consequence the Danes made sure of their hold on Wollin at the mouth of the Oder and the Billungs held the Abodrites in their grip. *Ibid.*, p. 411.

[59] Hauck, III, 649 note 2, and on Adalbert generally, pp. 648-664. Cf. Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography* (London, Oxford, 1897-1906), II, 517-520; Meyer von Knonau, *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich IV und Heinrich V* (Leipzig, 1890-1909), II, 124-145.

[60] Adam, III, 28 (27), 37 (36).

[61] *Ibid.*, III, 36-39 (35-38). Cf. Thompson, p. 131 note 1; Beazley, II, 517.

[62] Adam, III, 10, 26 (25), 39 (38), 55 (56), 66 (65).

[63] *Ibid.*, III, 9, 26 (25), 27 (26), 39 (38), 46 (45).

[64] He declined the papal chair when Henry III offered it to him at Sutri. *Ibid.*, III, 7, 33 (32), 59 (58). Cf. Dehio, *Geschichte des Erzbistums Hamburg-Bremen bis zum Ausgang der Mission* (Berlin, 1877), II, 203-210; Hauck, III, 659 note 1.

other hand, as a feudal prelate, sanction a diminution of his metropolitan territories and rights. The way to avoid the dilemma seemed to him to be the elevation of Hamburg to patriarchal rank. Sweyn, then, could control the Scandinavian church; it would still be at least nominally subject to Adalbert as patriarch of the north. The plan was not unacceptable to Sweyn, and nine dioceses under an archbishop came into existence, with the exception of the sees already established, chiefly on paper.[65] To the German and Wendish territory of his province, Adalbert hoped also to add the diocese of Verden, and to divide the whole into twelve dioceses, if Gottschalk continued brilliantly successful.[66]

Fault may not be found with Adalbert's idea of a patriarchate in respect to magnificence of conception. Few, too, could better have lived up to the externals of the position than Adalbert. A handsome man, he dearly loved pomp and ceremony—

> Omnia magna quaerens, omnia mirabilia, omnia gloriosa in divinis et humanis, et propterea dicitur fumo delectatus aromatum et fulguratione luminum et tonitruis alte boantium vocum. Quae omnia traxit a lectione Veteris Testamenti ubi Maiestas Domini apparuit in Monte Synai.[67]

Unfortunately Adalbert did not see that there was little or no precedent in the western church for a patriarchate and that the popes of his day, Leo IX and his successors, inspired by Hildebrand, were not disposed to set up so powerful a prelate as a patriarch might become, between themselves and the lower episcopate; certainly not in Germany where the papal centralizing tendencies were straining relations with the Salians who insisted naturally on the ancient tradition of dynastic church control. Adalbert, moreover, did not see that he had not laid the foundation for a patriarchate either in Scandinavia or in Slavia. In the north the missions might still be struggling institutions but for the kings. In Slavia the Wends might still be worshipping their pagan gods but for Gottschalk. Finally, Adalbert did not reckon with the hatred of the Billung dukes for him both as a patriarch

[65] Adam, III, 33 (32), 77; IV, 2.
[66] *Ibid.*, III, 33 (32); Helm., I, 22.
[67] Adam, III, 27 (26).

in spe and as a statesman of the empire representing the Salian interests in Saxony.

The outcome may be briefly recorded. Adalbert was caught in the storms of the minority of Henry IV, in which he stood faithfully and valiantly by his sovereign. He might have weathered the tempests if the Billung dukes had not been his unrelenting enemies in Saxony. Mercilessly they stripped him of two-thirds of his diocesan properties.[68] His fall precipitated, too, the third great Slavic reaction of 1066. The Wilzians and Rugians, Gottschalk's eastern neighbors, obdurate pagans and fiercely jealous of their freedom, had long regarded his Christian principality as a menace. Taking advantage of the turmoil in Germany, they fell upon the Abodrite country and eastern Saxony and left it a waste.[69] Of the bishoprics planned by Adalbert only Mecklenburg and Ratzeburg came into being by the side of Oldenburg, *sans évêques,* however, until 1149 and 1154, respectively.[70] In Denmark national, dynastic tendencies moved along their irresistible course: Eric Ejegod (1095-1103) secured the establishment of a Danish archbishopric at Lund. In 1104 Asger (Adser), a friend of Anselm of Canterbury, was consecrated for the see.[71] Now the Hamburg prelates were confined to the Slav country which they had too long neglected.[72]

Helmold disdained to enlarge on Adalbert's patriarchal plans,—de quibus narrare supervacuum est, eo quod sapientibus ineptiae quaedam et deliramenta visa fuerint[73]—and went on to tell of the

[68] Adam, III, 41 (40), 43 (42), 44 (43), 49 (48); Thompson, pp. 413-414.

[69] Gottschalk was murdered (1066) in the reaction. Adam, III, 50-51 (49-50); Helm., I, 22.

[70] Accidit autem perturbacio haec in Slavorum provincia anno post incarnacionem Domini [1066] . . . Et vacavit sedes Aldenburgensis annis octoginta IIIIor. Helm., I, 24. Cf. Adam. III, 21 (29); Helm., I, 69, 77; Kretschmer, pp. 423, 424.

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 436.

[72] Hauck's point of view—"Aber es war ein Fehler: für die Gegenwart und die Zukunft Deutschlands war es weit wichtiger, dass die Wenden Christen wurden, als dass Dänen und Schweden sich zum Glauben bekannten; denn die ersteren gehörten zum Reich, die letzteren waren Fremde."—is obviously political and not in keeping with the ideal mission spirit. III, 83.

[73] Adam, III, 50 (49), 51 (50); Schol., 80-82 (81-83); Helm., I, 22; Meyer von Knonau, II, Exkurs II.

terrible days of Cruto, the leader of the pagan faction in the Abodrite nation, who usurped Gottschalk's principate. One of the sons of Gottschalk was killed in his attempt to wrest control from Cruto, another fled to the Danes. In those days more than six hundred families left Holstein and settled in the Harz Mountains to escape the fury of the pagan persecutor.[74] As if he would blot out the memories of these dreadful times Helmold digressed to tell of the Saxon-Salian quarrel and of the War of the Investitures. His tale of the latter is much garbled, but tremendously interesting.[75] Saxon and priest though he was, Helmold philosophised that

> many have sinned. They were relieved, however, by recourse to penance. Certainly David, sinning and repenting, remained a king and prophet. King Henry, however, lying at the feet of the apostles, praying and doing penance, was gratuitously undone. He did not in the era of grace find what the former obtained in the unfeeling era of the law. But let them, who know, and dare, judge of these matters.

What after all interested Helmold most was the missions. "I have . . . anticipated the disturbances within the Empire and the several wars of the Saxons," he said significantly, "because they gave the Slavs by far the most important occasion to rebel."[76]

III

When Helmold returned to his theme, he wrote of events which occurred much nearer his own time. The Billungs had died out in the male line in 1106, the year in which Henry IV had died, and Henry V had made Lothar of Supplinburg, later king and emperor, duke of Saxony.[77] In 1110 Duke Lothar had made

[74] Helm., I, 25, 26, 34. Thompson writes, "The memory of Kruto is still preserved in North German legend as a terrible ogre. I have heard children singing jingles about him in the streets." Pp. 418-419. How Cruto entered into the War of the Investitures is well told in *ibid.*, p. 420.

[75] Helm., I, 28-30, 32, 33. Meyer von Knonau, III, 630-638; V, 115 note 4, 266-270, 290 note 3, 298, 359-362.

[76] Helm., I, 33.

[77] Annal. Saxo, *an.*, 1106; Helm., I, 35, 41.

Adolph III of Schauenburg count of Holstein.[78] In Slavia Henry, the younger son of Gottschalk, had driven out and slain the "tyrannical" Cruto[79] and brought not only the Abodrites but also the eastern Slavs under his rule.[80] The Nordalbingian Saxons then came out of the stockades in which they had lived, and rebuilt their homes and churches. In all Slavia, however, "there was not a church or a priest except only in the stronghold which is now called Old-Lübeck because Henry very often sojourned there with his family".[81] The diocese of Oldenburg was, indeed, only a name until Vicelin became bishop in 1149.

Vicelin[82] was a missionary of the mind of Boniface and Anskar, sincerely concerned for souls and innocent of the vices of the feudalized clergy of his day. Born near Minden and educated at Paderborn, he taught school for some years at Bremen before he finished his theological studies at Laon in France. After considering well his worthiness for Holy Orders, he presented himself for ordination to Norbert, founder of the Premonstratensians, who had been made archbishop of Magdeburg.[83] Vicelin, however, did not join his community, though he must have become thoroughly familiar with it at Laon, nor seek to labor in Norbert's diocese. He was "mission-minded" and the opportunity to work effectively in this ministry seemed opportune. Perhaps it was Norbert who directed his attention to the possibilities in Wagria under the

[78] Annal. Saxo, *an.*, 1110; Helm., I, 35, 36.

[79] *Ibid.*, I, 34. On the trustworthiness of Helmold's account of Henry, *vide* von Breska, *passim.*

[80] Helm., I, 34, 36, 37; Annal. Saxo, *ann.*, 1114, 1121; Sächsische Weltchronik in *M. G. H., Deutsche Chroniken* (Hanover, 1877——), II, 189.

[81] Helm., I, 34. Cf. I, 41.

[82] For Vicelin bibliographies *vide* Thompson, p. 436 note 4; Hauck, IV, 623 note 1. *Vide* also Haupt, *Nachrichten über Wizelin. . . . Tübinger Studien für schwäbische und deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, Bd. III, Heft 2 (Tübingen, 1913); Hestermann, *Sankt Vizelin, Apostel der Holsten und Wagrier* (Dülmen, 1926), but cf. Coen's review of Hestermann, *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLV, Fasc. III et IV (1927), 417.

[83] Helm., I, 42, 44, 46. Cf. Versus de Vita Vicelini and Sidonis Epistola printed in Schmeidler's edition of Helmold, and reprinted and translated into German by Haupt, *op. cit.*

Christian prince, Henry, of the Abodrites.[84] Vicelin went to Bremen to tell the venerable Archbishop Adalbero "the purpose of his heart". Adalbero gladly adopted Vicelin, and immediately sent him with two companions to seek Henry in Old-Lübeck. "Without hesitation [Henry] raised these most deserving men in the presence of his people to great honors and gave them a church in Lübeck." Their work, however, had not been begun when Henry died, leaving two sons to quarrel over the succession and the revenues.[85]

The Lübeck mission could not now be held, but a new base was found at Faldera in Holstein,[86] near the Slavic border, convenient, therefore, for Vicelin to carry on what missionary work was possible among the Slavs. Faldera Vicelin found "frightful as a wasted and unproductive heath; besides [its people, the Holsteiners] were a boorish and uncultivated kind of folk, having nothing of religion saving only the name of Christianity." Helmold was not well disposed toward these people. Saxons, they were proud, head-strong and war-like.[87] Their kin west of the Elbe were avaricious, forgetful of the fact that "victory was of God".[88] Helmold accused the Holsteiners of having had in mind the murder of their Schauenburg count, the devastation of their own country and emigration *en masse* to Denmark rather than

[84] Thompson, pp. 435-436; Hauck, IV, 623-624; Hirsekorn, *Die Slavenchronik des Presbyter Helmolds* (Halle, 1874).

[85] Adalbero II (1123-1148) revived Adalbert's idea of working in the Scandinavian north, but failing there, concentrated his missionary efforts on Slavia. Adalbero's sending of Vicelin to Henry is confirmed by a document of 1141 printed in *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holst.-Lauenburgische Geschichte*, VIII (1878), 307; Bernhardi, *Lothar von Supplinburg. Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 389 note 10; Helm., I, 46.

[86] Slavic, Wippenthorp; later called Neu-Münster (Novum Monasterium). *Ibid.*, I, 47.

[87] *Ibid.*, I, 38, 67, 92, 93.

[88] *Ibid.*, I, 16, 18, 21, 25, 34, 38, 48, 65, 68, 71, 84; II, 3, 4; Adam, II, 71 (69); III, 22 (21), 23 (22). Adam wrote III, 23 (22): Audivi etiam, cum veracissimus rex Danorum sermocinando eadem replicaret, populos Sclavorum iamdudum procul dubio facile converti posse ad christianitatem, nisi obstitisset avaricia Saxonum. Cf. II, 71 (69).

pay as much in tithes as the other Saxon peoples.[89] Though their count had given them the preference in the taking up of the lands wrested from the Slavs,[90] they, Helmold intimated, called in the Slavs to expel the colonists whom Count Adolph had settled in the borderlands.[91] In brief they hindered very much Count Adolph's plans for the peaceful development of his territories and hence the conversion of the Slavs. Helmold noted, too, that the Nordalbingians had, because of their being on the frontier, acquired characteristics peculiar to the Slavs, notably generosity and thieving.[92]

Although they were not a people in whom the Slavs could see well exemplified, the Christian way of life preached by the missionaries, the Holstein folk quickly responded to Vicelin's ministrations.[93] The sanctity of the priest which begot such success also quickly drew to him at Faldera other men, both lay and clerical. These banded into a community pledged to the celibate life, to prayer and fasting, to pious works, for the furtherance of their own and their neighbors' salvation. "Above all they were diligent about the conversion of the Slavs, and prayed God as soon as possible to open [to them] the door of salvation. But God for a long time put off their petitions."[94]

[89] Helm., I, 92.

[90] *Ibid.*, I, 67.

[91] When in 1147 Niclot, the Slav chief, saw that war was inevitable, he invaded and wasted Wagria, but spared the districts inhabited by the Holsteiners. Sermo fuit eo tempore, continued Helmold, omnium ore pertritus quosdam Holzatensium hoc perturbacionis malum conflasse propter odium advenarum, quos comes late congregaverat ad incolendam terram. I, 63. Thompson suggests that Niclot may have spared the North Saxons out of regard for Adolph. P. 440 and note 2.

[92] The Nordalbingians had Saxonum iura et Christianum nomen, nisi quod propter barbarorum viciniam furtis et latrociniis operam dare consueverunt. Hospitalitatis gratiam sectantur. Nam furari et largiri apud Holzatos ostentacio est. Qui vero predari nesciat, ebes et inglorius est. I, 47. The Saxons could steal scientifically. When in 1113 or 1114 Henry and the Saxons forced the Rani on the island of Rügen to pay an indemnity in bullion because they had no coined money, the conquered had not gold or silver enough because, to quote Helmold, puto statera delusi. I, 38. On slavic hospitality and thievery *vide infra*.

[93] *Ibid.*, I, 47, 67.

[94] *Ibid.*, I, 47; Acts xiv, 26.

The times were marked by strife. Henry's sons all met with violent ends and a Dane, Cnut Laward, got their principate.[95] Although he was an efficient Christian ruler, Cnut involved the Slavs in a Danish civil war.[96] According to Helmold, the Danes were good fighters but unfortunately often afflicted by having tyrants rule them[97] and by numerous civil wars.[98] "The kings of the Danes are dilatory and dissolute and always drunk between successive feastings", the Danes "are pugnacious at home, unwarlike abroad", are characteristic observations about this people.[99] Consequently, they were the victims of the ravages of the Slavs who lived along the Baltic coast and dependent on the Saxon dukes who gradually mastered these Slavs.[100] This advantage, however, was often offset by the wars in which the character of the border peoples involved the Saxons.

Vicelin, indeed, re-established himself in Old-Lübeck in Cnut Laward's time, but his position in the country was insecure. On this account he persuaded the emperor Lothar to fortify the hill, Segeberg, in Wagria.[101] This fortification was a serious affront to the Slavs[102] who not long after, when Henry the Proud and Albert the Bear, heirs of the divided Billung lands,[103] fought for the upper hand in Saxony, broke into Nordalbingia, destroyed the *suburbium* and ecclesiastical buildings of Segeberg and forced

[95] Helm., I, 48, 49. Cf. Reich, "Knut Laward, Herzog von Schleswig" in *Jahrbücher für die Landeskunde der Herzogtümer Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg*, X (1869), 203-254.

[96] Helm., I, 50, 51.

[97] *Ibid.*, I, 5, 70, 85; II, 13.

[98] *Ibid.*, I, 50, 51, 65, 67, 70, 73, 85.

[99] *Ibid.*, I, 65; II, 13.

[100] *Ibid.*, II, 6, 12.

[101] For other reasons, too; the hill yielded lime (Kalkberg). Its military value had been appreciated by Wago, bishop of Oldenburg, before the first great Slav insurrection of 983, and by Knut Laward who had fortified it. Segeberg also lay on the trade route from the Lübeck region to the lower Elbe country. *Ibid.*, I, 18, 49, 53.

[102] The words of protest which Helmold puts into the mouth of a Slavic chief afford the only description extant of Vicelin's physical appearance,—Vides . . . homuncionem illum calvum. . . . What allowance must be made for the chief's feelings is hard to say. *Ibid.*, I, 53.

[103] *Ibid.*, I, 54, 56.

Vicelin's missionaries to return to their base at Faldera. The country about the "community" center also "was reduced almost to a solitude through the daily killings of men and plunderings of villages." Adversity, however, drew Vicelin and his brethren closer together and enabled him to attach his flock more securely to him by his encouraging words and kindly ministrations.[104]

Peace came at length when Henry the Proud drove out Albert the Bear and established himself in Saxony.[105] Adolph built Lübeck, not far from the old Slavic town of the same name, and made peace with the Slavs, now under a chief, Niclot, but—"the land was without inhabitants." The solution of this never-failing frontier problem lay in attracting settlers; and, to quote Helmold, Adolph

> sent messengers into all parts even to Flanders and Holland, Utrecht, Westphalia, Frisia [proclaiming] that whosoever were in straits for lack of fields should come with their families and receive the best soil, a spacious land, rich in crops, abounding with fish and flesh and exceeding good pasturage. . . . An innumerable multitude from different peoples rose up at this call, and taking with them their families and their goods they came into the land of Wagria to Count Adolph to possess the country which he had promised them.[106]

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[104] Helm., I, 55.

[105] *Ibid.*, I, 54, 56. Cf. Bury et al. (eds.), *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1911——), V, 346-348.

[106] Helm., I, 57; Exod. iii, 8. Kötzschke reprints a proclamation of *ca.* 1108 similar to the one which Helmold embodied summarily in his account: "Adelgozus d. gr. Magadaburgensis a.ep. . . . et universi orientalis Saxonie maiores et minores, Reginhardo venerabili epo. Halberstetensi . . . et omnibus Christi fidelibus episcopis . . . principibus, militibus, ministerialibus, clientibus omnibusque maioribus et minoribus, dilectionem, orationem, et in id ipsum salutem. Multimodis paganorum oppressionibus et calamitatibus diutissime oppressi, ad vestram suspiramus misericordiam, quatenus ecclesie matris vestre nobiscum sublevetis ruinam. Insurrexerunt in nos et prevaluerunt crudelissimi gentiles, viri absque misericordia et de inhumanitatis sue gloriantes malicia. . . . Surge itaque sponsa Christi et veni, sonet vox tua in auribus Christi fidelium, quatenus omnes ad Christi festinent bellum, Christique militibus veniant in adiutorium. Gentiles isti pessimi sunt, sed terra eorum optima, carne, melle, farina, avibus, et si excolatur omnium de terra ubertate proventuum, ita ut nulla ei possit comparari. Sic aiunt illi quibus nota est. Quapropter o Saxones, Franci, Lotaringi, Flandrigene

Vicelin's mission profited by these happy events. The monastery at Segeberg, which was rebuilt, was moved to Högersdorf and the work of converting the heathen went on apace.[107] Soon, however, the sky clouded again for him. St. Bernard of Clairvaux came to Germany in 1146 to preach the Second Crusade[108] and part of the energy he released was expended in a holy war on Niclot. With desperation the Slav chief defended himself. Count Adolph's settlements in Wagria were devastated, and Vicelin's efforts sadly spoiled of their fruits, before the German crusaders realized the folly of their campaigning.[109]

With peace came another misfortune—Archbishop Hartwig of Hamburg-Bremen—according to Helmold, apparently a man of Adalbert's type, who

> endeavored with great zeal to regain as suffragans the bishops of all Denmark, Norway and Sweden, whom the records of antiquity mention as having once belonged to the church of Hamburg. But when with obsequiousness and divers presents he effected nothing with the pope and the caesar, he proceeded to revive the bishopries of Slavia which had in olden times been destroyed, in order that he might not be altogether without suffragans.

Hartwig consecrated Vicelin for the see of Oldenburg in 1149[110]—a doubtful gain for the man and his work, for Hartwig

famosissimi, et domitores mundi, hic poteritis et animas vestras salvificare, et si ita placet optimam terram ad inhabitandum acquirere. Qui Gallos ab extremo occidente progressos in brachio virtutis sue contra inimicos suos in remotissimo triumphavit oriente, ipse tribuat vobis voluntatem et potentiam hos affines et inhumanissimos gentiles subiugare et in omnibus bene prosperari. *Quellen zur Geschichte der ostdeutschen Kolonisation im 12. bis 14. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig und Berlin, 1912), pp. 9-10. Invaluable is Thompson, ch. 15 (bib.).

[107] Helm., I, 57, 58.

[108] *Ibid.*, I, 59; Vacandard, *Leben des Heiligen Bernard von Clairvaux* (Mainz, 1897-1898), II, 315-318.

[109] Helm., I, 62-65. Significant: Dixerunt autem satellites ducis nostri et marchionis Adelberti adinvicem: "Nonne terra, quam devastamus, terra nostra est, et populus, quem expugnamus, populus noster est? Quare igitur invenimur hostes nostrimet et dissipatores vectigalium nostrorum? Peace was made and the Slavs agreed to become Christians, but observed the chronicler, *inter alia*, they were *falso baptizati*. I, 65.

[110] *Ibid.*, I, 69; Dehio, "Hartwich von Stade, Erzbischof von Hamburg-

and Henry the Lion, Henry the Proud's son and successor, were striving for the upper hand in Saxony.[111] Vicelin had accepted the bishopric and Hartwig had consecrated him without consulting the duke. Although he had great respect for Vicelin, the duke, angered by this violation of his feudal prerogatives, promptly withdrew the tithes payable to the see of Oldenburg.[112] Their struggle is masterfully portrayed by Helmold, and again shows that the chronicler did not respect persons. Henry the Lion he criticized for thinking more of getting tribute from the Slavs than of making Christ known to them,[113] for exacting so much from them that they murmured when tithes were imposed and would only as a result reluctantly accept the Christian religion.[114] In truth there is abundant evidence outside the pages of Helmold that the duke seems to have been interested in the missions rather for what he could gain from them than for their own sake. If he established bishoprics in the Slav country, it was partly at least because these foundations would enlarge his power in the region at the expense of that of the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen.[115]

Bremen" in *Bremisches Jahrbuch*, VI (1872), 35-154; also printed separately (Göttingen, 1872).

[111] Hartwig was heir of the counts of Stade in Saxony and would not give up his territorial rule on becoming archbishop. He gave his allodial lands within the limits of the archdiocese to his see. Henry the Lion promptly seized these lands. *Ann. Stad., an.*, 1144; *Ann. Palid., an.*, 1145.

[112] Seeing that following Hartwig's advice not to do homage to Henry profited him nothing, Vicelin in 1150 complied with the duke's demands propter eum, qui se humiliavit propter nos, and thus secured aid from Henry and Count Adolph. Helm., I, 70; cf. Phil. ii, 8. There is no evidence for Hauck's statement that by submitting to Henry, Vicelin alienated Hartwig. IV, 643. Two years later he accompanied the archbishop to Barbarossa's first diet at Merseburg, where Hartwig tried to persuade, non fructum ecclesiae, sed odium ducis intentans, Vicelin to secure investiture from the sovereign. Vicelin, however, would not, for fear of re-kindling Henry's wrath: in hac enim terra sola ducis auctoritas attenditur. Helm., I, 73.

[113] Nulla de Christianitate fuit mentio, sed tantum de pecunia. Adhuc enim immolabant [Slavi] demoniis et non Deo. . . . *Ibid.*, I, 68; IV Kings xii, 3; iv, 4.

[114] *Ibid.*, I, 84.

[115] After he had his hands free in regard to his Bavarian claims, Henry endowed the Wendish bishoprics. Thus, he hoped they would further his plans to develop Saxony. *Ibid.*, I, 88; von Breska, p. 6.

Count Adolph of Holstein also was freely praised for the help and protection he gave the missions and freely censured for the obstacles he placed in the way of their development.[116] Like Henry the Lion, Adolph was a politician. He feared that Vicelin's activities might eventually make of the bishopric of Oldenburg-Lübeck in his lands what the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen had been and still was in those of the duke. Adolph did not wish to see his revenues curtailed by the extension of the tithing system, especially since his financial condition seldom was satisfactory.[117] The bishoprics, too, might offend the Slavs who adhered to their pagan cults, and consequently disturb friendly relations with their chief, Niclot. Indeed, these relations when ruptured by the crusade of 1147 did arrest the development of Adolph's territories; therefore, also interrupt and diminish the collection of the tribute due him from the Slavs.[118] Toward Vicelin, consequently, Adolph was lukewarm. If the count was friendly toward the bishop it was because Henry the Lion was well disposed toward him,[119] but Adolph did not zealously support his mission work. On the whole Helmold was moderate in his criticism of the count: after all the latter did maintain peace and order and thus forward God's work even if his motives were not always religiously simon-pure.[120]

If Vicelin and his successor, Gerold, drew Helmold's praise, Hartwig of Hamburg-Bremen roused his ire.[121] In the archbishop's contest with Henry the Lion the Slavic bishoprics were but pawns. If on the one hand the archbishop needed these sees to overcome the duke and to enable him to have suffragans to support his archiepiscopal dignity, on the other hand he could not properly second them and their work because his quarrel with the duke was costly. Helmold only dimly perceived the economics of the

[116] Comes alias optimus episcopo soli fuerit mediocriter bonus. Helm., I, 71. Cf. I, 69, 73, 75, 84.

[117] Thus, in 1149? Adolph returned from an expedition to aid a faction in a Danish civil war with many captives, by whose ransom, Helmold observed, debitis suis aliquantisper alleviatus est. I, 67.

[118] *Ibid.*, I, 65, 66.

[119] Relations later were strained. *Ibid.*, I, 70, 76.

[120] *Ibid.*, I, 67; II, 5; von Breska, pp. 7-9.

[121] Helm., I, 69, 73, 80, 81, 83, 94.

situation. What he did see was that Hartwig's policies handicapped Vicelin's work to his dying hour,[122] that Hartwig was unfriendly toward Gerold because Gerold had obtained his see from the duke;[123] and that Hartwig was not unselfishly interested in the missions.

Neither before his elevation to the episcopate nor after could Vicelin carry out his noble purpose. The crusade of 1147 was as ill-starred for his work as the enmity between Archbishop Hartwig and Duke Henry the Lion, neither of whom, "shackled by hatred and envy, could bring forth fruits pleasing to God."[124] Posterity has with justice named him the Apostle of Wagria; less, however, for what he himself could accomplish than for the fact that in his day the Wendish country became rapidly Christian through its settlement by Germans and the ruthless extermination of the Slavs by Henry the Lion. Vicelin died in the odor of sanctity in December, 1154, after a pontificate of little more than five years.[125]

IV

About Gerold and Conrad, Vicelin's successors, Helmold wrote out of his own knowledge. Gerold was named by the duke without consulting the archbishop — hence the situation in which Vicelin had been was reversed. If Henry the Lion had refused to recognize Vicelin, Archbishop Hartwig found ways of evading the office of consecrating Gerold bishop. Indeed, at the very time Gerold sought Hartwig about the consecration, the metropolitan was, in Helmold's words, "lying in wait [to bruise] his heel because the duke was engrossed with Barbarossa's first Italian expedition." Hartwig had even decided to give the see of Oldenburg to a friend of his, "making much of certain great but empty riches of this bishopric."[126] Henry the Lion, however, summoned Gerold to Italy and persuaded the pope to consecrate him.[127]

[122] Helm., I, 69, 73.
[123] *Ibid.*, I, 80.
[124] *Ibid.*, I, 75.
[125] *Ibid.*, I, 88.
[126] *Ibid.*, I, 80.
[127] *Ibid.*, I, 81.

More persuasion was then necessary to reconcile the metropolitan with his suffragan.

Established at last in his diocese with the approval of both the spiritual and lay authority, Gerold found himself destitute of a see. Even the community at Faldera had on Vicelin's death declared its obedience to the archbishop "with a view at once to its own advantage and to its quiet".[128] When on the feast of the Epiphany, 1156, Gerold went to his cathedral town, he found the city "entirely deserted, having neither walls nor an inhabitant, only a little chapel which Vicelin, of saintly memory, had erected there. In the bitterest cold, amid piles of snow, we went," wrote Helmold, "through the office there. Besides Pribislav [the Wend chief of Lübeck] and a few others, not a Slav attended." Gerold proceeded then on a visitation of his diocese. After the Mass, continued Helmold, "Pribislav asked us to come into his house which was in a remoter town. And he received us with much gladness and made a sumptuous meal for us."

Slavic characteristics always interested Helmold, and he went on to speak of the hospitality of the people:

> Twenty dishes of food loaded the table set before us. There I learned from experience what before I knew by report, that no people is more distinguished in its regard for hospitality than the Slavs. For in respect to the entertainment of guests they are all, as if of one mind, eager that it be not necessary for any one to ask for hospitality. For whatever they obtain by farming, fishing, or hunting they bestow with whole-hearted generosity, considering the one who is most liberal as the most manful. The longing for this display impels many of them to theft and robbery. In any case these [kinds] of vice are, indeed, venial with them; for they are covered by the cloak of hospitality. For according to the laws of the Slavs what you have stolen by night you must on the morrow divide with your guests. But if anyone—and this is very rare—is caught denying a stranger hospitality, it is lawful to burn his house and property. And they all, likewise, vow and declare that he is shameful, he is vile and to be abominated by all who does not fear to deny a stranger bread.[129]

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[128] Helmold was mistaken. The community was Vicelin's personally, not as bishop of Oldenburg. I, 80, 83.

[129] *Ibid.*, I, 83. Other references to Slavic hospitality occur in I, 49, 52, 84. Cf. Krek, I, 357-358.

In the course of his visitation Gerold happened upon one of the pagan woodland shrines of the Slavs—the see of Oldenburg had then been established about 275 years! When they came

to that wood and place of profanation, the bishop exhorted us to proceed energetically to the destruction of the grove. Leaping from his horse he himself also with his staff knocked to pieces the decorated fronts of the gates, and, entering the court yard, we heaped up all the hedges of the enclosure about those sacred trees and made a pyre of the heap of wood by setting fire to it, not, however, without fear that perchance we might be overwhelmed in a tumult of the inhabitants. But we were protected by heaven.

Evidently there was no thought about the effect these proceedings would have on the disposition of the heathen to receive the Word of God.[130]

The episcopal party dined that evening at the lodge of another Slavic chieftain, but, observed Helmold,

the cups of the Slavs were neither sweet nor pleasing to us because we saw the shackles and the divers kinds of instruments of torture which they were wont to use on the Christians brought here from Denmark. We saw there priests of the Lord, emaciated by their long detention in captivity, whom the bishop could not help either by force or by prayer.[131]

The next day, Sunday, the people came to the marketplace at Lübeck to hear Gerold exhort them to give up their idols, to renounce "their evil works, namely, the plundering and killing of

[130] Such conduct was not exceptional. Gerold appointed a priest, Bruno, to Oldenburg who aggressus est opus Dei cum magno fervore et vocavit gentem Slavorum ad regenerationis gratiam, succidens lucos et destruens ritus sacrilegos. Bruno apparently also could not speak Slavic, habens sermones conscriptos Slavicis verbis, quos populo pronuntiaret opportune. I, 84; cf. Adam, III, 20 (19); Schol. 27 (30), 71. In earlier times Henry I settled a band of robbers near Merseburg whom he instructed civibus quidem parcere, in barbaros [*viz.* Slavs] autem, in quantum auderent, latrocinia exercerent. Widuk., II, 3. For the contempt in which the Germans held the Slavs, *vide* Hauck, III, 86-91; Thompson, pp. 488-489.

[131] Piratical raids were common fundamentally because of the proximity of the northern Slavs to the sea and, as Peisker believes, because of an admixture of Viking blood. *Camb. Med. Hist.*, II, 456. Peisker cites Helmold's account of the Rugians, II, 13. Other references to the Rugians as pirates occur in Helm., I, 36, 48, 52; II, 12; *vide* also I, 35, 63, 65, 67; II, 6.

Christians." Pribislav of Lübeck replied, and his words reveal the Slav mind:

> Your words, O venerable prelate, are the words of God and are meet for our salvation. But how shall we, ensnared by so many evils, enter upon this way? For in order that you may understand our afflictions hear patiently my words, because the people whom you see is your people, and it is proper of us that we make known to you our need. Then it will be reasonable for you to pity us. For your princes rage against us with such severity that, because of the taxes and most burdensome services, 'death is better' for us than 'life'. Behold this year we, the inhabitants of this tiny corner, have paid the duke in all a thousand marks, besides as many hundred to the count, and yet we are not through but we are outdone and oppressed even to the point of exhaustion. How, therefore, will we, for whom flight is a matter of daily consideration, be free to build churches for this new religion and to receive baptism? Were there but a place to which we could flee! For on crossing the Trave, behold like ruin is there; on coming to the Peene River, it is not less there. What remains, therefore, but leaving the land, we take to the sea and live with the waves. Or, what fault is it of ours, if, driven from our fatherland, we have troubled the sea and got our livelihood off the Danes or the merchants who fare the sea? Will not this be the fault of the princes who are hounding us?

Gerold's answer seems a little lame: "Our princes . . . do not think they do much wrong by those who are worshippers of idols." "If it please the lord duke and you that we have the same mode of worship as the count," countered the Slav chief, "let the rights of the Saxons in respect to property and taxes be extended to us and we shall willingly be Christians, build churches and pay our tithes." His reply was much milder than that made a few days later by Niclot in a provincial conference which Henry the Lion convened: "Let the God, who is in heaven, be your god, you be our god, and it is enough for us. You honor him, in turn we shall honor you." [132]

The question of taxes and tithes which so grievously irritated

[132] Helm., I, 84; John xiv, 8. Hauck would interpret Niclot's words,—Sit Deus, qui in celis est, deus tuus, esto tu deus noster, et sufficit nobis. Excole tu illum, porro nos te excolemus.—"Möge er den Gott im Himmel verehren; die Wenden wären schon zufrieden, wenn nur er sie behandelte wie Gott." IV, 644 and note 3.

the Slavs, in another form drove Gerold to desperation. Tarrying with Henry the Lion because his income was inadequate, the bishop finally said:

> Behold, now I have continued at your court a whole year and so have been a burden to you. Coming into Wagria, also, I have not what to eat. Why, then, did you impose on me the burden of this title and office? I was much better off before than I am now.

Henry the Lion then counselled with Count Adolph about three hundred *mansi* which had been given the bishopric as a dowry. The land was measured by the count, who, however, "used a short, and to us unknown line" and included swamps and woodlands. The bishop found there were hardly a hundred *mansi* in the cession. Although his complaint to Henry the Lion resulted in a judgment in favor of the church, neither the duke nor the bishop, said Helmold, "has been able to secure the *mansi* to this day." To Archbishop Hartwig, Gerold "also paid many courtesies in the hope that the monastery at Faldera would be returned to him. . . . But the archbishop, more disposed to [seek] the advantage of his own church, led on the man with wily engagements, promising and delaying and redeeming the time." [133]

The support which the authorities withheld was in the course of time supplied by the settlers who poured into Count Adolph's territories.[134] Even the Holsteiners could not after much striving resist the increasing of the tithes they paid. Gerold could move (1160) the see from Oldenburg to Lübeck and build there a cathedral at the consecration of which both the duke and the count made generous gifts, but not the archbishop.[135] The peace, also, which Henry the Lion established in his lands redounded to the advantage of the church. The duke thoroughly humbled Niclot

[133] Helm., I, 84.

[134] *Ibid.*, I, 88. So also into Albert the Bear's eastern Saxony. Nunc vero, quia Deus duci nostro et ceteris principibus salutem et victoriam large contribuit, Slavi usquequaque protriti atque propulsi sunt, et venerunt adducti de finibus oceani populi fortes et innumerabiles et obtinuerunt terminos Slavorum et edificaverunt civitates et ecclesias et increverunt divitiis super omnem estimacionem. I, 89; Joel i, 6.

[135] *Ibid.*, I, 94.

and also his sons when after their father's death they tried to recover the Abodrite country.[136] In vain was their appeal to "the remnants of the Slavic race."[137] Henry the Lion and Count Adolph could not be withstood. They pursued the Slavs to the confines of Pomerania, and the Slavs did not dare "to stop anywhere out of dread of his [the duke's] countenance." If Henry had not been called back to Brunswick to meet a messenger from the Byzantine emperor, he would, thought Helmold,

> have completely consumed the whole strength of the Slavs and would have treated the land of the Pomeranians as he had treated the land of the Abodrites. All the land of the Abodrites and the neighboring regions which belong to the realm of the Abodrites, had through unremitting wars, but particularly through this last war [1164], been wholly reduced to a solitude by the favor of God, and the strength He had always imparted to the right hand of the most pious duke. If there were any last remains of Slavs left, they were on account of the want of grain and the desolation of the fields so reduced by hunger that they had to flee to the Pomeranians and to the Danes who, showing them no mercy, sold them to the Poles, Sorbs, and Bohemians.[138]

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[136] Helm., I, 87, 93.

[137] Before Mecklenburg Pribislav, the son of Niclot, addressed the garrison, "Magna, o viri, tam michi quam genti meae illata est violentia, qui expulsi sumus de terra nativitatis nostrae et privati sumus hereditate patrum nostrorum. Slavic hatred of the colonists appears in his next sentence. Vos quoque iniuriam hanc cumulastis, qui invasistis terminos nostros et possedistis urbes et vicos, qui nobis debentur hereditaria successione. After putting the garrison at Mecklenburg to death, selling the women and children into slavery, and burning the town, Pribislav came to Ilow that evening, where he addressed the Slavs within the enclosure, reciting the wrongs of their race and urging them,—Revertimini igitur ad cor, o viri reliquiarum Slavici generis, et resumite audaciam et tradite michi urbem hanc et viros, qui iniuste occupaverunt eam, ut ulciscar in eos, sicut ultus sum in eos qui invaserant Mikilenburg. *Ibid.*, II, 2; Gen. xl, 28; xxiv, 7; I Mach. xv, 33, 34.

[138] *Ibid.*, II, 4, 5; Jer. 50, 13. The Slavs contributed not a little to their own undoing. They tore themselves to pieces, like the Indians, by wars among themselves, and by aiding the Saxons against their kin. For example, the Saxons were called into a fierce civil war among the Luticii about 1057 in which the power of two tribes was utterly broken and by which the victors were burdened with a heavy debt. Adam, III, 22 (21); Helm., I, 21. Niclot in 1151 asked the Saxons to help him break the power of the Kycini and Circipani, who planned to rebel. Helm., I, 71. Mistue, the son of Henry (Gottschalk's son) without provocation attacked the peaceful and unsuspecting Lini (Linoges). *Ibid.*, I, 37.

There was no longer any "tottering of ecclesiastical affairs in Slavia" as there had been in the times of the Billungs, mighty as they were. Progress was inevitable in the Slav country, although its people might secretly cling to their heathen practices. Peoples are not converted in a day. Gerold could die in peace at Bosau in the arms of Helmold in August, 1163,[139] assured that if his successor did not make progress it would be because of his own errors of judgment with respect to Saxon politics.

Such mistakes, however, his successor, Conrad, did make. Helmold characterized him as a learned and pious priest, but changeable of mind, untrue to his promises, "loving strangers, and criticizing his own", and arbitrary. He alienated his clergy by declaring that all their property was his, "regarding them not as his brethren but as his serfs". He owed his election to Henry the Lion; Hartwig and the clergy of Lübeck accepted him only because "it was dangerous to withstand".[140] Nevertheless Bishop Conrad joined the lesser nobles of Saxony and Hartwig in their futile effort to break the power of the duke. Exile was the penalty.[141] Soon after his return Hartwig died. Conrad lived on, a changed man, "for he had learned to have compassion on his brethren from what he himself had suffered."[142]

With the triumph of Henry the Lion the Saxon investiture contest ended in favor of the secular power. The Wends had been converted by the Saxons much as they had been converted by the Franks.

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Such is Helmold's story, rehearsed whenever possible, as he told it, fearlessly, believing that "truth remains unshaken in itself" even if its telling sometimes begets hatred in the impious. He may not have had the world view of Otto of Freising, but he did tell his story well; indeed, so well that, as one finishes reading it, the first thought is of complying with the modest request with

[139] Helm., I, 95.
[140] *Ibid.*, II, 1.
[141] *Ibid.*, II, 7-9.
[142] *Ibid.*, II, 11.

which he ended the preface of the second book: "I hope also that I shall not want some little advantage from the prayers of the . . . men who will happen to read this little book, that they will not deny my request for the favor of their prayers."

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

ST. IRENAEUS AND THE SEE OF ROME.

In the religious controversies of the last four centuries, there is scarcely one of the early Fathers whose name has figured so freely, or one to whose testimony so much importance has been attached, as St. Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons. The reason is not far to seek. Born about the year 125, he brings us back to a time when the memory of the Apostles was still fresh in men's minds. Indeed, he tells us himself how as a youth he listened to the discourses of St. Polycarp of Smyrna, the friend and associate of the Apostle St. John. It is another consideration of the first importance that St. Irenaeus was by birth a Greek and passed the greater part of his life in a Greek world, transferring his activities, probably about the year 170, to the world of the West, where he soon rose to prominence and made an important public figure as Bishop of the flourishing church of Lyons. It follows from this that his testimony is to be regarded as representing the tradition of both East and West.

This special importance accounts in a large measure for the heated and prolonged controversy that has raged around the saint's teaching regarding the See of Rome. The famous passage occurs in his great work *Adversus Haereses*, a work directed against the Gnostic errors of the time. Only fragments of the original Greek survive, but the whole has come down to us in a literal Latin translation. The author is arguing from Tradition (Bk. 3, c. 3, ss. 1-3). The passage runs as follows:

No. 1. Traditionem itaque Apostolorum in toto mundo manifestatam in omni ecclesia adest respicere omnibus qui vera velint videre: et habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt episcopi, et successores eorum usque ad nos, qui nihil tale docuerunt, neque cognoverunt quale ab his deliratur. Etenim si abscondita mysteria scissent Apostoli, quae seorsum et latenter a reliquis perfectos docebant, his vel maxime traderent ea quibus etiam ipsas ecclesias committebant. Valde enim perfectos et irreprehensibiles in omnibus eos volebant esse quos et successores

relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes: quibus emendate agentibus magna fieret utilitas, lapsis autem summa calamitas.

No. 2. Sed quoniam valde longum est in hoc tali volumine omnium ecclesiarum enumerare successiones, maximae et antiquissimae et omnibus cognita, a gloriosissimis duobus Apostolis Petro et Paulo Romae fundatae et constitutae ecclesiae eam quam habet ab Apostolis traditionem, et annuntiatam hominibus fidem, per successiones episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos indicantes, confundimus omnes qui . . . praeterquam oportet colligunt. AD HANC ENIM ECCLESIAM PROPTER POT(ENT)IOREM PRINCIPALITEM NECESSE EST OMNEM CONVENIRE ECCLESIAM, HOC EST EOS QUI SUNT UNDIQUE FIDELES, IN QUA SEMPER AB HIS QUI SUNT UNDIQUE CONSERVATA EST EA QUAE EST AB APOSTOLIS TRADITIO.

No. 3. The original Greek is extant here, but it will be sufficient to give the Latin translation:

Fundantes igitur et instruentes beati Apostoli Ecclesiam, Lino episcopatum administrandae ecclesiae tradiderunt.

Here follows a list of the Bishops of Rome, which concludes:

. . . nunc duodecimo loco episcopatam ab Apostolis habet Eleutherius. Hac ordinatione et successione (τῇ ἀντῇ τάζει καὶ τῇ ἀντῇ διδαχῇ), ea quae est ab Apostolis in ecclesia traditio, et veritatis praeconatio pervenit usque ad nos. Et est plenissima haec ostensio unam et eandem vivificatricem fidem esse quae in Ecclesia ab Apostolis usque nunc sit conservata et tradita in veritate.

The authenticity of the passage as a whole has never been challenged. At the same time some particular words and phrases have been disputed. We speak only of the *locus classicus* itself. *Potentiorem* in the reading above is a certain emendation of *potiorem*, which has no authority but the Codex Claromontanus. Some doubt has also been thrown on the word *eos* which is wanting in the MS. of Arundel. But apart from the fact that it is found in all other codices, the use of such a substantival clause as *qui sunt undique* without *hi* or *ii* is entirely foreign to the style of the translator, as seen in almost every page of his work. During the past twenty years, the authenticity of different parts of the clause "ab his qui sunt undique" has been challenged by many writers.

We shall deal later on with the more important of the emendations suggested.

Before dealing in particular with the meaning of the controverted passage in section 2, it will be well to analyze the author's general line of thought. The Apostles, he supposes, were in possession of the teaching of Christ in its purity and integrity. Now the same teaching is to be found in the same purity and integrity in every church of the Christian world. But the present-day belief of Christians is at variance with Gnostic doctrine. Therefore Gnostic doctrine is opposed to the teaching of Christ and is consequently false. The second point alone he considers necessary to prove. This he does in the following way. He takes as a basic principle that the faith of any church is true and apostolic if it can shew an unbroken series of bishops reaching back to the time of the Apostles. Why? Because the Apostles would have committed their doctrine in its purity and entirety to those to whom they entrusted the various churches, and these latter in turn to their own successors. It remains therefore to shew that each church can point to an apostolic succession of bishops. Though he is in a position to do so, such an enumeration would be too long. Instead, he will furnish a list only for the Church of Rome. By expounding the tradition of that church, and by shewing that it has the required apostolic succession, he claims that he will have "confounded" his opponents: *ad hanc enim ecclesiam, propter potentiorem principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam.* The complete list of Roman bishops is then given, down to Eleutherius, the contemporary of Irenaeus himself. The conclusion is then drawn that the faith of the Apostles has been preserved in the Church from the time of the Apostles to the present day.

The number of interpretations to which our passage lends itself, at least in theory, is enormous. Roiron calculates that there are as many as 108 possible versions.[1] Various words and phrases admit of different interpretations, and these interpretations in turn admit of different combinations. *Principalitas* may be taken

[1] "Sur l'interpretation d'un passage de Saint Irénée", in *Recherches de science réligieuse*, 1917, 38.

as referring to the importance of the *city* of Rome, whether political or commercial, or to the primacy of the *church* of Rome, which in turn may be authoritative or merely honorific. Again the phrase *necesse est* may be understood of logical, moral, or material necessity. *Convenire ad* can be taken in the sense of "agree with" (active or passive) or "resort to". Lastly the relative clause may refer to *hanc ecclesiam* or to *omnem ecclesiam*, and within each again different interpretations are theoretically possible. We shall discuss these four points, on which the whole controversy hinges, in the order just given.

a) Convenire ad

Catholic writers in general have interpreted the phrase to mean "agree with" (active or passive),[2] while Protestant writers for the most part translate "to resort to", "to visit".[3] In order to reach a decision, it is essential to determine with certainty what precisely is the author's test of genuine tradition. Is it universal tradition, or is the tradition of one church sufficient?

For several reasons we are convinced that the test is universal tradition. The strongest argument is found in the concluding sentences of no. 3. There the word *ecclesia,* occurring without qualification in both sentences, obviously refers to the universal Church rather than the church of Rome. If so, it appears certain that the test in the author's mind throughout the whole passage was the tradition of the whole church, the apostolicity of this tradition being the object of his proof.

The opening words of no. 1 point to the same conclusion: *Traditionem . . . in toto mundo manifestatam.* That the writer

[2] So Duchesne, *L'Églises Separées*, Paris, 1896, 119; A. Dufourcq, *Saint Irénée*, Paris, 1905, 127; Schneeman, *Sancti Irenaei de Ecclesiae Principatu*, in *Collectio Lacensis*, IV, appendix, xxix; Roiron, *l. c.*, 44 ff.; Walkley, "The Testimony of Saint Irenaeus in favour of the Roman Primacy", in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, 8, 295; Forget, "Le Temoinage de Saint Irénée en favour de la primauté romaine", in *Ephemerides Lovanienses*, 1928, 441, 442.

[3] *E. g.*, Bishop Gore, *Roman Claims*, 96; Renan, Hibbert Lecture, London, 1880, Eng. trans., 172; Puller, *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*, London, 1893, 40. Harnack (*Hist. of Dog.*, II, 158) is a notable exception.

is here thinking of universal tradition is confirmed by the opening words of no. 2: *Quoniam valde longum est . . . omnium ecclesiarum enumerare successiones.* Why think of giving the episcopal succession for each and every church, if the faith of any one is an adequate test?

It may be objected that the writer explicitly informs us in the sentence from which we have just quoted that he is abandoning universal tradition as a test and passing to particular tradition. That he does not do so, however, is apparent from the conclusion to the whole argument found at at end of no. 3. We shall see in the sequel how he can prove the apostolicity of the universal faith although he deals in detail only with the church of Rome.

Again, in no. 2 of the preceding chapter the word *traditio* is used without qualification, and is practically defined there as universal tradition. Similarly, about the middle of no. 3, we find a clear appeal to the *Apostolicam Ecclesiae traditionem.* Our opinion is confirmed by several other passages in which we find appeals to the tradition of the universal Church.[4]

We may assume therefore that the author's test of orthodoxy is universal tradition. Yet he says that he can "confound" his opponents by proving the apostolicity of the Roman faith alone. The inconsistency is not only apparent but real unless it be that that faith of Rome must be the same as the faith of the whole Church; in other words, unless for some reason every church must be in agreement with the church of Rome. Now, this fact must have been stated; otherwise the writer has allowed a glaring inconsistency to stand unnoticed. But if he has stated the fact at all, the statement must be looked for in the sentence beginning *Ad hanc enim ecclesiam.* This naturally leads us to the conclusion that *convenire ad* is to be translated "to agree with".

The word *enim* at the beginning of the sentence adds positive proof to presumptive evidence: "It would be too long to deal with each church in detail; I shall deal therefore only with the

[4] *E. g.*, 1, 10, 3; 3, 4, 1; 3, 5, 1; 3, 12, 7; 3, 24, 1; 4, 33, 7; 4, 33, 8; 5, 20, 1.

church of Rome, because, for special reason, *ad hanc* (emphatic) *ecclesiam . . . necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam.*"

Again, at the end of no. 3, the writer claims to have "proved most fully" that the faith of the *whole Church* is apostolic. Now, if in the course of his argument he has dealt solely with the church of Rome, and if at the end he claims to have proved his case for the whole Church, there is no need to point out that his reasoning is absurd. We may assume that he has saved his case somewhere. But there is only one possible way in which he can have done so, namely, by stating and proving that the faith of every church must be for some reason the faith of the church of Rome.

In the last sentence of no. 3 the correct version reads *eadem* (not *hac*) *ordinatione et eadem successione.* Perhaps in view of this statement it was unnecessary to state that the faith of the church of Rome was the faith of all Christians. We do not think that this is so. In our opinion the remark is purely incidental, not added as an essential part of the argument. The reason is that the writer is here engaged in argument and proof, and it is by no means sufficient to establish an apostolic succession for Rome, and then simply make an unproven statement that the same is true of all other churches as well. To do so would be to beg the question at issue.

So much by way of positive argument. More convincing perhaps is the negative argument, which consists in showing that *convenire ad* cannot be taken in the sense "to resort to", the only other possible interpretation. We have seen that the sentence must state and prove that the faith of Rome is the faith of the whole Church. Now if we translate *convenire ad* by "resort to", the only rendering of the sentence that can be at all regarded as giving the required sense is the following: "The Christians of the world meet in Rome, and have preserved their faith by the influence exercised over them by that church." But can this be regarded as a cogent argument proving that the faith of all Christians is the same as the faith of Rome? However high the prestige of a church may be, it does not follow that all who come

in contact with it, will infallibly carry away and preserve its opinions forever. Moreover, the writer would have expressed himself very indifferently, stating in a relative clause what he meant to be the principal point of his thought.

Those who translate "to resort to", explain the phrase to mean that numbers from every church must visit Rome, it being obviously absurd to say that every individual Christian must do so. But to say that Irenaeus identifies a whole church with a section of it, is to say that he was extremely ignorant of the proprieties of language. The explanatory phrase *eos qui sunt undique fideles* also shews that the writer is speaking of all or morally all the Christians of the world.

If we ask what business brought the Christians flocking to Rome, various explanations are forthcoming. We are told, for instance, that considerable numbers of Christians visited Rome on commercial business. This, however, is an entirely gratuitous assumption; and in view of the condition of the early Christians in general, and their great distance from Rome in many cases, the assertion is devoid of all antecedent probability.[5]

Another explanation once in vogue, but now happily disused, is that there is reference to the envoys from the different churches who came to Rome to plead the cause of the Christians before the emperor. But not one instance can be quoted of such an embassy prior to the time at which Irenaeus wrote. Moreover, to say that it was *necessary* for each church to send such embassies to Rome is to imply that this was a means by which the early Church might hope to secure life and freedom. But history very forcibly refutes such an assumption.[6]

Both views just discussed rest on the assumption that the *principalitas* belongs to the *city* of Rome, and that *necesse est* is to be understood of material necessity. We hope to show that both assumptions are entirely wrong.

Batiffol translates "to visit Rome in active quest of truth".[7]

[5] *Cf.* Walkley, *o. c.*, 294.
[6] *Cf.* Schneeman, *o. c.*, XIV.
[7] *L'Eglise Naissante*, 250.

But it is entirely gratuitous to assert that in the second century Christians came from every church to Rome in pursuit of religious truth. Abercius and Irenaeus are wrongly cited as instances; neither came to Rome for the purpose of solving any religious problem. Batiffol as well as the supporters of the first two opinions rely very much on the use of the word *undique*. But an examination of the style of Irenaeus shows that it can furnish no argument whatever. It is used indiscriminately to translate *πανταχοῦ*, *πανταχόθεν*, and *πάντοσε*, place where, whence, and whither.

We assume as proved, therefore, that *convenire ad* is to be translated "to agree with", whether actively or passively. It is really no strong objection that the phrase is used nowhere else in this sense in the works of Irenaeus. We may admit, too, that the phrase very rarely occurs anywhere in this sense. Ducange does not cite a single instance. Lewis and Short quote only one, which is taken from Cicero: *Si cothurni laus illa esset ad pedem apte convenire.*[8] A construction which is practically identical is quoted from Plautus: *Conveniebatne in vaginam tuam machaera militis?*[9]

Various suggestions have been made as to the Greek original; *συμβάινειν πρός* seems the most likely. The construction, though indeed rare, occurs occasionally even in classical literature. It is found, for instance, in two places in Thucydides.[10]

b) Necesse est

As already indicated, the necessity in question may be either material, logical, or moral. We need not delay to consider the first, as it has been already implicitly ruled out by showing that *convenire ad* cannot be taken in the sense "to resort to". As regards logical necessity:

a. The Roman church has preserved the apostolic doctrine intact; it necessarily follows that every other church in which the apostolic doctrine has been likewise preserved must be in agreement with the church of Rome.

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[8] *De Fin.*, 3, 14, 46.
[9] Ps. 4, 7, 85.
[10] 1, 103; 4, 61.

This interpretation is probably the weakest offered. The statement contains nothing more than the truism that two things that are each equal to a third are equal to each other. And worse still, we are given a reason, and an extrinsic one, for this evident and intrinsically necessary truth. Further, the writer has forgotten that he set out to prove that the apostolic doctrine is actually found throughout the whole Church.

b. The church of Rome has preserved the apostolic doctrine: every other church has equally preserved that doctrine: therefore every church is in agreement with the church of Rome.

This interpretation is open to the first two objections urged against the preceding. In addition, it gives us a glaring instance of *petitio principii*, the author being made to assume what is clearly his duty to prove. The word *semper* is fatal to this as well as the preceding opinion. The other churches must be in agreement with Rome if they possess apostolic doctrine *now*: it is not necessary that they should have possessed it always.

c. Every church necessarily agrees with the church of Rome, *propter potentiorem principalitatem*.

Moral: "Every church is morally bound to agree with the church of Rome".

Each of the last two interpretations gives excellent sense. But, although the latter has on its side the almost unanimous support of Catholic tradition, we prefer the former. To judge the merits of the case, it is necessary to examine the other instances in Irenaeus in which *necesse est* is followed by the accusative and infinitive. There are at least thirteen such,[11] and in twelve certainly, most probably in all, there is question of logical necessity. If so, we may safely assume that the same is true in the instance before us. We may add that the accusative after *necesse est* would be very ungrammatical in the moral interpretation. Concluding therefore that there is question of logical necessity, and that *convenire ad* is therefore to be taken in the passive sense

[11] 2, 2, 2; 2, 4, 1; 2, 5, 1; 2, 17, 7; 2, 31, 1; 2, 35, 1; 3, 14, 1; 3, 23, 1; 3, 25, 1; 4, 4, 1; 4, 13, 2; 5, 9, 2; 5, 30, 1.

"to be in agreement with", we get the meaning of the whole: "The church of Rome enjoys a *potentior principalitas*: therefore it will necessarily be found that every church is in agreement with it." In the next section, we hope to show how the inference is justified.

c) Propter Potentiorem Principalitatem

We need not delay over the opinion of Puller and others that the *principalitas* belongs to the *city* rather the *church* of Rome. Every impartial reader will admit that fundamental laws of expression demand that *hanc ecclesiam* be taken as the antecedent of *principalitatem*. It is also to be noted at the outset that *propter potentiorem principalitatem* contains the reason and the adequate reason why all churches are in agreement with the church of Rome. The reason is not even partly found in the eulogistic language applied to Rome in the first sentence of the section.

The word *principalitas* does not occur in classical literature. It is found, however, in the Fathers, though by no means frequently. Two of the earliest instances outside Irenaeus are found in Tertullian, in one of which it means *priority in time*,[12] in the other *superiority* or *power*.[13]

In Irenaeus, besides the passage we are considering, the word is used ten times, viz., 1, 26, 1 (twice); 1, 30, 8; 1, 31, 1; 2, 1, 2; 2, 30, 9; 4, 35, 2 (twice); 4, 35, 4; 4, 38, 3. In four cases the original Greek is extant, and we find that *principalitas* translates a number of words, namely: δύναμις, ἀυθεντία, ἐξουσία, ἀρχή, πρωτεία. In nine cases there is reference to some supernatural being of Gnostic theology. We cannot in the space at our disposal enter into a detailed discussion of each case. Suffice it to say that a close examination of each instance has convinced us that in all ten the word means *power* or *authority* (once, 4, 38, 3), or *one possessing power or authority*. The Greek equivalents furnish the principal, though not the only, argument; and in the contexts these can bear no other meaning than the one we have adopted. Now if the word *principalitas*, in ten out of the

[12] *De Praes.*, 31. [13] *De Anima*, 13.

eleven instances in which it occurs, bears the meaning *power* or *one with power* (physical or moral), it seems perfectly natural and scientific to interpret the remaining instance in the same way. Hence the meaning in our passage is *moral power* or *authority*; physical power being obviously ruled out by the context.

We may also argue to the meaning of the word in an a priori manner, working on the basis of the results already obtained. We have already indicated that the writer must not only state that every church is in agreement with Rome, but must also prove that statement by some sufficient reason. Otherwise he begs the question at issue, and has no right to claim at the end that he has given the "fullest" proof of his thesis.

In every interpretation that has been offered—here we consider only such as refer *principalitas* to the *church* of Rome—the words are taken to signify, at least implicitly, a primacy of some sort, whether jurisdictional or merely honorific. We are convinced that the latter does not satisfy the demands of the context. Our argument, stated generally, is that it is illogical to infer immediately from the fact that the church of Rome holds a position of *prima inter pares*, that every other church will necessarily be found to be in agreement with it in matters of faith. To do so "c'est supposer les Gnostiques par trop faciles à se laisser confondre".[14]

The force of this general argument will appear more clearly when we consider the various opinions that have been advanced as to the basis of the honorific primacy. It has been suggested, for instance, that *principalitas* means *antiquity*; being a translation of the Greek ἀρχαιότης. But the *principalitas* is something special (*potiorem*) to the See of Rome, while we know that Rome was by no means the oldest of the churches. Moreover, how can it be said that the mere antiquity of a church exercises such a potent influence that all others will infallibly be found to be in agreement with it in faith?

Batiffol, who also seems to understand a primacy of honour, bases that primacy on the fact that the church of Rome was founded by Christ Himself in the person of St. Peter.[15] We do

[14] Roiron, *o. c.*, 49. [15] *O. c.*, 252.

not see what point there is in saying that the See of Rome was founded by Christ Himself. The same may be said of every other church. Hence the theory merely amounts to this, that the church of Rome enjoys a preëminent position due to its having been founded by the Prince of the Apostles. But we can immediately object that Antioch was also founded by St. Peter. Apart from this, even such importance as would have naturally attached to the See by virtue of its illustrious founder could never have exercised such extraordinary influence that all other churches would have been infallibly drawn to conform with it in doctrine.

Nor again is it sufficient to say that the *principalitas* is based on the numerical strength of the church of Rome—granting for the sake of argument that it had such preponderating strength of numbers—nor on the fact that it reflected the greatness of imperial Rome. Our general argument holds against either explanation. As against the second in particular, the Roman church which was disowned, outlawed, and persecuted by the imperial power, can hardly have been regarded by the other churches as reflecting in any way the greatness of the imperial city.

Honorific primacy, therefore, no matter how explained, will not meet the needs of the case. Consequently, we must accept the only other alternative, namely, that *principalitas* means a primacy of real authority and jurisdiction, to which all others are bound to submit. To conclude from this obligation to its fulfilment is a step to which the Gnostic opponent would not have taken exception. Hence the statement "Every church is necessarily in agreement with the church of Rome on account of the latter's authority." It can be seen that there is an ellipse in the argument, which fully expressed should run as follows: "The church of Rome enjoys an authority to which all others are bound to submit: it goes without saying that this obligation is fulfilled: therefore every church is necessarily in harmony with the church of Rome."

Much discussion has taken place as to the original Greek translated by *principalitas*. Several suggestions have been made, e. g.,

ἀνθεντία, ἀρχή, πρωτεία, ἐξουσία, ἡγεμονία. We shall pass over this question as irrelevant. It is sufficient for our purpose to have discovered what must have been the *sense* of the original.

As to the word *potentior*, Batiffol rightly remarks that it does not necessarily imply a comparison with others which might possess a *principalitas* in a lesser degree. We often speak of a person's superior authority even when the subject possesses no authority whatever of his own. If, however, we understand such a comparison, we find an explanation in 4, 26, 2: *Reliquos vero qui absistunt a principali successione . . . suspectos habere.* Every church would then have a *principalitas*, but that of the Roman church is *potentior*, that is, an authority not only within itself, but extending to others as well.

d) In Qua

Our first duty is to decide which is the antecedent, *hanc* (sc. *Romanam*) *ecclesiam*, or *omnem ecclesiam*. We are convinced that it is the former. The chief positive argument we can adduce is that "Roman church" is the leading idea of the preceding clause, and therefore to it we must refer the relative that follows according to the recognised laws of grammar and logic.[16] It is a strong prescriptive argument that the interpretation we are upholding held undisputed sway for over three centuries, from 1526, the date of the *editio princeps* of the *Adversus Haereses*, down to the year 1842, when it was first challenged by Thierch. The fact indicates the natural interpretation.

We must admit indeed that the construction is not in good style. This, however, in no way interferes with our position, as we can point to parallel instances in the writings of the author. Thus in 4, 20, 5 we read: *Haec prophetice significabant prophetae, sed non quemadmodum quidam dicunt, invisibili Patre omnium existente, alterum esse eum qui a prophetis videretur, qui in totum quid sit prophetia nesciunt.* It is scarcely necessary to say that in this passage the second relative pronoun refers, not to the more

[16] *Cf.* Forget, *o. c.*, 450, 451.

closely preceding *prophetis*, but to the word *quidam*. We may add that this usage is found even in classical literature.

Our position can be best maintained perhaps by negative arguments, that is, by showing that the other view, which refers the relative to *omnem ecclesiam*, cannot be sustained. In this view three different senses are possible:

1. Defining or restrictive: *in every church in which*, or *in whatever church*.
2. Non-defining, but explanatory: *for in every church*.
3. Non-defining, simply assertive: *and in every church*.

As against all three interpretations, we may object, first, that the explanatory phrase *hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles* makes it impossible to refer *in qua* to *omnem ecclesiam*. To do so is to imply that the writer was ignorant of the first principles of correct expression. If the relative referred to *omnem ecclesiam*, it should have taken a plural masculine form. Secondly, if we accept the authenticity of the whole relative clause—as do all those who maintain one or other of the above interpretations—we get what has been described as bizarre tautology.[17] Let *omni ecclesia* be substituted for *his qui sunt undique*, and we get the following result: *Ad hanc enim ecclesiam . . . necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam . . . in qua semper ab omni ecclesia. . . .* Again, in all three interpretations, we are asked to believe that the faith of each church had been preserved not merely by the bishop of that church, nor even by bishop and people, but by every other church as well. For this reason the restrictive interpretation appears altogether absurd. The second and third opinions suppose another grammatical anomaly in addition to the one mentioned above. We cannot say "Every church must be in agreement with the church of Rome, for (or *and*) in *it* (that is *every church*) the faith has been preserved". It is clear that such a substitution of the singular for the plural is quite inadmissible. At the worst, therefore, *in quibus* should have been used. These two interpretations also suppose a *petitio principii*. It is to be remembered that the ulti-

[17] Roiron, *o. c.*, 42.

mate object of the writer is to show that every church possesses apostolic doctrine. Now if we translate here "because", or "and in point of fact every church possesses apostolic doctrine", we make the writer take for granted the very point he is engaged in proving. We have already pointed out that the first and second amount to a mere statement of the self-evident truth that two things that are equal to a third are equal to each other, and that we are given a reason, an extrinsic reason, for this intrinsically necessary axiom. Lastly, in the restrictive interpretation, the relative clause is merely the equivalent of *orthodoxa*. It is difficult to see then why Irenaeus should have chosen such an awkward circumlocution to express what might have been equally well conveyed by the three words *omnem ecclesiam orthodoxam*.[18]

We have assumed all along that *omnem ecclesiam* is to be translated *each* church or *every* church. No doubt *omnis* is very frequently used in the same sense as *totus* (all), both in classical and post-classical Latin. But an examination of the use of the word in no. 1 and the first sentence of no. 2 has led us to adopt the other meaning. It is well to remark, however, that it makes very little difference in any part of this essay which meaning we assign to the word.

We take as proved, therefore, that *in qua* is to be referred to *hanc ecclesiam* as its antecedent. But when we try to discover the precise meaning of the preposition *in*, a serious difficulty arises. Four meanings are possible:

1. The faith of the church of Rome has been preserved by the Christians who flock thither from every part of the world (*in*, local: place where).
2. The Christians of the world by their meeting in Rome, have preserved the faith of each other (*in*, same sense).
3. The Christians have preserved their faith through the influence of the church of Rome upon them when they visit that city (*in*, same sense).
4. Thanks to the activity of Rome (*in*, causal, Gr. ἐν), the other churches have preserved their faith intact.

[18] Forget, *o. c.*, 455.

The first interpretation is of course the one that has found favour with Protestant writers. But this, as well as the second and third, is indirectly ruled out by the fact that *convenire ad* cannot be translated "to resort to". The two interpretations must stand or fall together. Otherwise we must hold that the word *undique* is used in different senses within the same sentence without any indication that this is the case. But the requirements of style are quite conclusive against such a view. No writer with any pretensions to clearness of exposition could have been guilty of such negligence. Consequently *undique* in the relative clause must be taken to denote *place where* as in the first instance.

There is another and a stronger reason why the first interpretation is excluded by taking *convenire ad* as "to agree with". It is that the relative clause would reverse the subordination implied in the first part of the sentence. The result would be somewhat like the following: "The teacher necessarily agrees with his pupils, for he has imparted his knowledge to them." The force of this objection is obvious if we understand *necesse est* of moral necessity. It is equally strong, if not equally obvious, if we take the phrase in a logical sense, for here too, as we saw, a moral obligation is supposed.

The interpretation also runs counter to one of the fundamental principles of Irenaean ecclesiology; namely, that the faith of each church owes its preservation to the bishop thereof. In fact the writer's whole argument here depends, as we have seen, on that very principle. The faith of any church, he says, is whole and intact, if in that church we find an apostolic succession of bishops. It is clear that this supposes that the bishop of a church is a reliable custodian of its faith.

On this interpretation, too, it must be held that the relative clause gives the reason why the writer can "confound" his opponents by appealing to the church of Rome. But we have already remarked that the writer cannot have been so illogical as to throw into a relative clause what he meant to be the principal point in the sentence. And what is the reason? That the faith of the church of Rome has been preserved by the Christians who

come there from every part of the world. Now we have seen that the writer's test of truth is universal tradition, and that unless his reasoning is utterly defective, he must prove in this sentence that there is unity of faith throughout the whole Church. But it surely cannot be maintained that this point is satisfactorily proved in the present interpretation. That the faith of the church of Rome has been preserved by the Christians who flock thither, is no cogent proof that *all* the communities represented by these Christians possess the true tradition.

Furthermore, why does the writer say *Traditionem . . . per successiones episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos?* And why is he at such pains to give us a complete list of the bishops of Rome? If the faith of that church has been preserved by visiting tradesmen and others, what need to be told that it has had an unbroken episcopal succession? At the end we are told *Hac ordinatione et successione, ea quae est ab Apostolis in Ecclesia traditio et veritatis praeconatio veritatis pervenit usque ad nos.* There is no word here of the influence of visitors from outside. It seems quite clear from this that in the mind of Irenaeus the sole and adequate conserving force is the *ordinatio et successio* of bishops.

The theory rests on the assumption that considerable numbers of Christians visited Rome on commercial business, and we have already seen that this assumption is devoid of all foundation. But even if we grant the fact, it seems absurd to say that the faith of any church owed its preservation to the influence of mere merchants and traders.[19]

The second opinion, namely, that all the Christians, by their meeting in Rome, have preserved the faith of each other, does not call for special consideration, as most of the objections urged against the preceding view have equal force here. We have only to add that it supposes the author to have been guilty of an egregiously irrelevant statement. We may also pass over the third interpretation which is merely a variant of the preceding. Every church, it should seem, tends towards corruption and decay: Rome

[19] *Cf.* Walkley, *o. c.*, 291.

alone is immune from error, and Rome has saved the faith of the world. The necessary corollary is that the bishop of Rome *as such* teaches infallibly; a view which no Catholic theologian will maintain.

The fourth interpretation, which takes the preposition *in* as causal, is the traditional interpretation of Catholic writers. There is no doubt that ἐν is frequently used in this sense in later Greek, and the same may be said of the use of *in* in post-classical Latin literature. Nevertheless the explanation cannot be considered satisfactory. It appears objectionable in the first place on account of the second causal clause, *ab his qui sunt undique*. The double cause produces a crude and unnatural effect. Moreover, there is a suggestion that the faith of the other churches would have become corrupt but for the vigilance of Rome. This is to deny a fundamental principle of the writer that the faith of any church is adequately preserved by the bishop thereof. When we say "adequately preserved", we mean that a bishop is generally a reliable guardian of faith, not that he is infallibly and necessarily immune from error. A passage in the *Formula* of Hormisdas is very often quoted in support of this view: *In sede Apostolica citra maculam semper est Catholica servata religio*. But it seems to us that the preposition here is to be taken as local rather than as causal.

We have now examined most of the possible interpretations of the relative clause as it stands, and none has been found satisfactory. For this reason many writers of recent years have challenged the authenticity of different parts of the clause. We shall discuss a few of the more important theories advanced, reserving for the last place the emendation which we consider most satisfactory.

D'Herbigny suggests that instead of *undique* we should read *undecim*, the reference being to the list of bishops that follows. The original Greek, he thinks, read ΥΠΕΠΩΝΟΝΤΩΝΙΑ (= ὑπ ἐπ(ισκόπ)ων ὄντων ία. This became corrupted by a scribal error into ΥΠΩΝΟΝΤΩΝΙΑ, which the translator understood as ὑπὸ τῶν ὄντων ἑνδεκα and rendered *ab his qui sunt undecim*. The proximity

of the first *undique* and the obscurity of *undecim* explains the subsequent change to *undique*.[20]

The theory is a very ingenious one indeed, and gives the sense required by the context, namely, that the faith of the church of Rome has been preserved by the bishops thereof. At the same time it seems far-fetched and postulates too much by supposing not one error only but a whole series of errors. Again the omission of the article in ὑπ' ἐπισκόπων cannot be admitted. D'Herbigny indeed points to two instances of such omission in 3, 3, 4, where we find ὑπ' ἀποστόλων used twice. But there the omission of the article is by no means so objectionable as in the text which he suggests, the reason being that *Apostoli* in some degree approximates to a proper name. The addition too of such a tag as ὄντων ἐνδεκα to indicate incidentally the number of Roman bishops seems intolerable.

The second emendation is that of Saltet, who proposes to omit *ab* before *his*, but to retain the words that follow. The corrected sense then will be "in which the apostolic tradition has been preserved *for* the faithful throughout the world". The insertion is due not to the translator but to a scribe who understood *his* as a causal ablative.[21] This theory has the merit that it does less violence to the text than any other proposed. At the same time the corrected sense appears almost bizarre. Moreover, it is difficult to see why the scribe should have deliberately made such a change, since he must have seen the objection against saying that the faith of the church of Rome owed its preservation to the influence of the other churches.

We have reserved to the last place the theory of Morin, although it stands first historically as being the earliest emendation suggested. He maintains that the two words *sunt undique* are interpolations, due to the error of a scribe whose eye caught the same words in the previous line. He makes it quite clear that the most obvious translation of the present text gives a sense which

[20] "Sur le second *qui sunt undique* dans Irénée, 3, 2, 2", in *Revue Bénédictine*, 1910, 103-108.

[21] "S. Irénée et S. Cyprien sur la primauté romaine", in *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, mai-juin, 1920, 184-185.

is altogether at variance with the mind of the writer as seen in several passages through his works; namely, that the faith of a church is preserved by the bishop thereof. But, although we get excellent sense even though everything between *semper* and *conservata* be omitted, there is no solid reason for omitting the words *ab his*. If these are therefore to be retained, a relative clause must have followed. That relative clause must have denoted in some way the bishops of Rome, and Morin hesitantly suggests that the words were *qui ibi praefuerunt*.[22]

The theory of Morin, first published in 1908, marks an epoch in the interpretation of the text. It has been generally admitted ever since that at least the word *undique* is an interpolation, and most writers agree in rejecting the word *sunt* as well. On the negative side at least we are convinced that he has established his case. We are of opinion too that substantially the reading suggested is correct. It seems almost certain that the original was "rulers", "bishops", or the equivalent. We should prefer, however, to say that the mistake was made by the translator rather than the scribe. The original may have been ὑπὸ τῶν προεστώτων. πρωεστώτων would then have been translated as πανταχόθεν, the word in the previous clause. This modification not only reduces the error to one word instead of two, but also obviates the necessity of saying that all existing MSS. are derived from the same copy of the original translation.

One last point remains to be considered. If, as we have been maintaining, the preposition *in* is to be taken in a local sense, and if in the original text represented by the present *qui sunt undique* there has reference to the bishops of Rome, is there not a strong suggestion of *petitio principii*? Are we not attributing to the author a naïf categorical assertion of the very point at issue? We do not think that the objection has any very serious force. No doubt the assertion strikes the reader as awkward, but the difficulty largely disappears if we regard it as something like the statement of a thesis about to be proved.

[22] "Une erreur de copiste dans le texte d'Irénée sur l'église romaine", in *Revue Bénédictine*, 1908, 515-520.

Resuming the results of our investigation, we get the following interpretation of the whole passage:

> With this church, on account of its superior authority, every church must necessarily be in agreement—with this church in which the apostolic tradition has been always preserved by the bishops thereof.

It is our purpose now to try to evolve more clearly and exactly the mind of the writer and to try to discover the implications of his doctrine.

As there is question in the whole context of matters of faith, it follows that the authority attributed to the church of Rome must be at least doctrinal. Now, this can only mean that the church of Rome, or in other words, the bishop of Rome, has power to issue doctrinal decisions to be accepted under grave obligation by the whole Church. Further as there is no qualification suggested, that power must be taken to extend to *every* matter of faith.

The question now arises whether Irenaeus would have attributed to the church of Rome not only a world-wide *magisterium*, but an infallible *magisterium* as well. There can hardly be any doubt about his mind on the point. In modern times a distinction has been introduced between infallible and uninfallible or ordinary declarations of faith addressed to the universal Church, the essential difference being that in the one case the declaration is final and irrevocable; in the other, it is not. No such distinction, however, would have occurred to the mind of any early pope, or any early writer. Any decision directed to the universal Church would have been intended as final, and would have been regarded as such by St. Irenaeus or any other writer for centuries after his time. Hence, when our author says that the Bishop of Rome has doctrinal authority over the whole Church, he implies that he has power to issue doctrinal decisions which the faithful throughout the world are bound to accept with a final and irrevocable assent of the mind. Now, if such declarations were not guaranteed by infallibility, it would follow that at any time the whole Church might be led into irreparable corruption of faith. We might presume antecedently that such a possibility would not have been admitted for a moment by the author. But we have many texts

as well which clearly involve the doctrinal indefectibility of the Church. Hence, St. Irenaeus is to be taken as implicitly teaching the infallibility of the Bishop of Rome.

We have maintained that the author teaches a world-wide authority in matters of faith. Can we go further and say that in this passage he teaches in full what we understand today by the primacy of Rome, that is to say, not merely a *magisterium*, but an *imperium* as well; in other words, legislative power, with its natural accompaniment, judicial and coactive authority? After careful consideration, we have come to the conclusion that there is no justification in this passage for saying that he attributes to the Bishop of Rome any such world-wide legislative power. It can be shown from certain facts in his life that this was his belief; and if so, he doubtless used the word *principalitas* here to cover both kinds of authority. But we cannot legitimately conclude from the present context by itself that legislative power is included in the meaning. There is question merely of obedience in matters of doctrine, and consequently the demands of the context do not warrant us in understanding the correlative *principalitas* to include anything more than authority within that sphere.

MICHAEL O'BOYLE.

PETER MARTYR D'ANGHIERA: HUMANIST AND HISTORIAN.[1]

The fate of Peter Martyr has been a curious one. Deliberately, and against the advice of all his friends, he went from Italy, where he was rising into fame as a scholar, to Spain, a harsh land, little touched by the Renaissance, ruled by the sword and a pitiless piety. There everyone thought that he would be lost. There, on the contrary, he arrived at the precise moment he was needed. There he found an unparalleled opportunity for exercising the talents he possessed.

Perhaps it is that great work is done always by the man who would have preferred doing something else. He does not choose his work, but his work him. Had Peter Martyr remained in Italy he would probably have achieved a purer Latin style; but he would also probably have exercised it upon trifles. By going to Spain he found a magnificent theme to write upon—the discovery of the New World. Of that discovery he is the first of the American historians; and it is rather as a historian than as a humanist that he is now remembered.

Peter Martyr d'Anghiera was born on February 2, 1457.[2] His family name has been lost; and he was not born at the town by which he is known, but at another, Arona, which is on the opposite side of Lake Maggiore. This we know from his own specific statement. He also claimed that his descent was illustrious; all that we know for certain is that the resources of his family were meagre.

But he received at the ducal court of Milan the kind of education thought suitable for young sprigs of nobility, which had

[1] Read at the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Boston, Massachusetts, December 30, 1930.

[2] Tiraboschi, however, gives it as 1455; and Nicolai Antonio as 1459. Ciampi and Heidenheimer, however, fairly clearly establish 1457 as the year of the historian's birth. The arguments are summarized by MacNutt, *De Orbe Novo, the eight "Decades" of Peter Martyr d'Anghiera* (New York, 1912).

more to do with the use of arms than of books. And not until political troubles made him seek, at the age of twenty, a haven in Rome, did he seriously interest himself in literature.

At Rome there is every reason to believe that he became a member of the famous academy presided over by Pomponius Laetus, though he must have secured his admission by persuading that learned circle of his gifts rather than by any actual pretensions to finished scholarship. His aptitude and the enthusiasm of his nature made him rapidly advance; and before long we find him holding his place by no means on sufferance.

If Pomponius had discovered a remarkable pupil, Peter Martyr had discovered a remarkable teacher. "In him," writes Francis Augustus MacNutt:

> The very spirit of ancient Hellas seemed revived. What to many was but the fad or fashionable craze of the hour, was to him the all-important and absorbing purpose of living. He dwelt aloof in poverty; shunning the ante-chambers and tables of the great, he and kindred souls communed with their disciples in the shades of his grove of classic laurels.[8]

And though he, like so many of the humanists, was somewhat pagan, his life was as innocent as his character was amiable. Peter Martyr might easily have fallen under the influence of those who made the study of decadent classic authors an excuse for vicious living. When he left Rome it was with a faith not seriously impaired, if impaired at all, and with a reputation unblemished.

But if Rome did not spoil the young scholar, neither did it offer him notable advancement; so that when the Count of Tendilla came to the papal court in 1486 as the ambassador of Ferdinand and Isabella, he was able to offer such inducements as sufficed for Peter Martyr to accompany him to Spain, where he landed in the autumn of 1487.

Queen Isabella was looking for just such a man to be the tutor of the royal children. She was herself something of a scholar, having had as her instructor the famous Beatrice Galindo, who for her learning was known as *La Latina*. And she was trying to encourage in Spain the humanism of Italy.

[8] *Op. cit.*, I, 5.

A chair at the University of Salamanca was offered, but was declined.[4] He did, however, consent to give a lecture to the assembled university. To do as much needed a great deal of courage, for the students had a custom of howling down a dull or otherwise ineffective speaker. Moreover, the rule was that a lecturer, appearing for the first time, should speak extempore upon any subject which was offered him. That appalling difficulty was eliminated, however, by the Italian scholar arranging beforehand for a friend to rise in the audience and suggest the second satire of Juvenal. The only howls, therefore, were those of a howling success. For more than an hour the lecturer held his audience spell-bound by the eloquence so carefully polished beforehand.

An equal success attended Peter Martyr as a tutor in the royal household. His aptitude for imparting knowledge and his charm of character made him an excellent teacher. But his ambition soared higher. When the war against the Moors broke out, he begged to be allowed to put his books away and to take part in the campaign. He was at the seiges of Baza and Almeria, which he has described for us; but he evidently saw that among a people so warlike as the Spanish, his own military talents were of small account. A long while afterwards he confessed to his friend Marlino that war was a matter best left to warriors.[5]

Mainly, therefore, with a career in mind, but it would be too much to say without some sentiments of piety, he entered the ecclesiastical state, and was given a canon's stall in the cathedral of the recently conquered Granada.

This he gladly accepted, thinking the city the loveliest he had ever seen; but before long he found his life there humdrum, and wrote begging to be provided again with occupation at court.

Isabella, who had befriended him before, befriended him again. He should impart to the young nobles of Spain the pleasant fruits of Italian humanism. So with the court he travelled, a peri-

[4] Altamira, II, 507, makes a slip in saying that Peter Martyr became a professor.

[5] "De bello autem si consilium amici vis, bella gerant bellatores. Philosophis inhaereat lectionis et contemplationis studium."

patetic philosopher. And though without any official position, his command of Latin prose was often utilized in official correspondence.

In 1501, he was sent on a diplomatic mission, and in it he gave another proof of his happy knack of achieving success. The Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, Quansou Ghoury, inflamed by the fanaticism of his religion, and incensed by the treatment accorded his fellow-Muslims after the fall of the Moorish kingdom, was hardly in the mood to be placated by any ambassador. Nevertheless Peter Martyr softened him. He managed somehow to persuade him that the Moors in Spain were not being persecuted; and (perhaps a stronger argument to a man occupying a throne filled by four sultans in four years) that he needed the support of the kingdoms of the peninsula. A treaty was signed in which the sultan promised protection for the Christians in his dominions, and permission for them to rebuild their holy places. It is not very obvious what he got in exchange.

While in Egypt Peter Martyr visited the pyramids and the sphinx (which he measured, though inexactly), Heliopolis, and the tree under which the Holy Family were reputed to have rested on their flight. There Mass was said by a Franciscan friar accompanying the party.

His Egyptian mission greatly increased his prestige. But when in 1518, the Spanish Court wished to send him on an embassy to the Golden Horn he prudently declined. He had made his way in the world; he could hope for little more from his adopted country; he preferred to spend his declining years in comfort and to rest upon the laurels already won.

He had never gained any position of refulgent splendor; but he was honoured and prosperous. As Mariéjol says, Spain had not treated him as a step-mother. He had become secretary to the Council of the Indies, and held the position of Abbot of Jamaica, where he built the first stone church erected in the New World.

Though he attempted no inordinate display, he kept up a considerable establishment, specializing in fine books and furniture

and the softest bedding procurable. His taste in food, too, was exacting: peacocks, turtles, quail, thrushes and pheasants made his table famous, and gave substance to the only charge that can be brought against him, that of gluttony and soft living. He seems never to have had an enemy or to have deserved one.

It was not in his character to do much scrambling for place, not even when his friend Adrian VI became Pope. As John Boyd Thacher writes in his sketch of Peter Martyr:

> When Adrian of Utrecht, the Cardinal Bishop of Tortosa was elected Pope, we can imagine the hurried whispers of ambition to the ears of Peter Martyr. Was there any preferment to which he might not reach? Here was a new Pope, not only his warm personal friend but one not born an Italian and not yet identified with Italian interests, in no way pledged to a particular distribution of fortune and of place. At heart Peter Martyr was still a son of Italy. Like many men who in their middle life and old age turn their thoughts back to the scenes of their youth, he thought of Arona and the beautiful Lake Maggiore, and visions of official or churchly station near his old home beckoned his fancy across the mountains to the land of his birth. The prospect was inviting. The clouds in the evening sky as he sat in his garden at Valladolid were tinted by the setting sun with colours now purple like the robe of a bishop, now red like that of a cardinal. Alas! the preferment was like the clouds, thin, vapoury, fleeting.[6]

Yet there was no bitterness in the heart of Peter Martyr. With a little ruefulness, however, he said after seeing four of the queen's confessors elevated to bishoprics, "Among so many confessors, it would have been fitting to have one Martyr." He had to be consoled with his own wit.

Old age came gently upon him. As Mariéjol says, "It had enfeebled his body without touching his understanding. He passed his last years without worry and without care, in peace and tranquility."[7]

He does, it is true, speak of his failing memory; but there is no indication of it in his work. Probably this may not have been all that it once had been; but he was more conscious of his declining powers than was anyone else. To the end he retained

[6] *Christopher Columbus*, I, 69.

[7] *Pierre Martyr d'Anghera, sa vie et ses oeuvres*, 151.

his love of order, and showed it in a curious fashion in the exact provisions he made for his own funeral. He arranged it down to the smallest detail, not omitting instructions as to the liveries to be worn by his servants, and the amount of wax to be burnt at his catafalque. In accordance with his request his body was borne to rest by the dean and chapter of the cathedral. "His station obliged them to render him this honour without reward; but Peter Martyr knew our human weakness. He left them three thousand maravedis that they might play their part with a better grace." [8] Mariéjol adds three pages later, "There is in this arrangement so precise, in this macaberesque foresight, the mark of the Spanish genius, which is at home with the facts of death, and which finds a sombre satisfaction in stirring the dust of the sepulchre, and in lifting up the tombstone." He was buried in October 1526.

I have suggested that by leaving Italy and settling in Spain Peter Martyr lost the fame of a humanist in order to become a historian. But it may be that in the wider sense he became all the better humanist in consequence. His style might have been purer had he remained in Rome; it might easily have been more pedantic.

For the truth is that it was the Renaissance that killed Latin. Everyone knows how Cardinal Bembo refused to read the Vulgate lest he should spoil his prose style. In this no doubt he did a somewhat unnecessary honour to Cicero; but revealed a deficiency in taste by failing to relish the style of St. Jerome.

And something much worse came of it all. Latin, which, though it was often written barbarously enough during the Middle Ages, was a living language, freely used not only by the specialist and the expert, but by all educated men. With the triumph of Ciceronianism it became the sacred mystery of a very few scholars, who had to give long years and their whole energy to the evolving of a style that was at best, in their hands stiff and stilted. And scholastic Latin was checked in a development which had already achieved great nobility, and which might have achieved still more had humanism been slightly more human.

[8] Mariéjol, *op. cit.*, 162.

Peter Martyr, as Mariéjol points out, "belongs to an earlier period. He left Italy before Ciceronianism had become a religion".[9] The result was that he was often criticized by the Roman purists for his neologisms. He was well aware of this, and wrote in reply:

> I have used . . . terms which certain Latinists dwelling along the Adriatic or Ligurian coasts, may attribute to my negligence or ignorance, when my writings reach them, as we have seen in the case of my first Decade which was printed without my authorisation. I would have them know that I am a Lombard, not a Latin; that I was born at Milan[10] a long way distant from Latium, and have lived my life still further away, for I reside in Spain. Let those purists of Venice or Genoa who accuse me of improprieties of composition because I have written as one who speaks in Spain of brigantines and caravels, of admiral and adelantado, understand, once for all, that I am not ignorant that he who holds these offices is called by the Hellenists Archithalassus and by the Latinists sometimes Navarchus and sometimes Pontarchus. Despite all such similar comments, and provided that I may nourish the hope of not displeasing Your Holiness, I shall confine myself to narrating these great events with simplicity.[11]

It is a very good humoured and modest defence of himself that he makes. He claims no more than that he tells his story with directness; for he thoroughly understands what is so often forgotten, that a writer should above all be interesting, that if he wants to be read he must make himself readable. As for his Latin, Mariéjol says the last word upon it: "it is incorrect, but it is alive".[12]

If one wanted to do so it would be easy enough to point out that Peter Martyr was not only a humanist and a historian but a journalist. It was his letters that gave the old world its first and most authentic account of the new. And they were eagerly awaited by his correspondents.

Like a journalist he wrote in great haste. Sometimes, he tells us, he completed two or three while his servants were laying the table for dinner. Sometimes, the messenger—who must be made to correspond in this connection to the printer's devil—was wait-

[9] *Op. cit.*, 220.
[10] He does not mean the city but the duchy.
[11] *Op. cit.*, I, 254-5.
[12] *Op. cit.*, 223.

ing cloaked and spurred for them in the hall. And the haste is evident in many of them. He had news to give, and news which he was as impatient to give as others were to receive it. He writes to Leo X: "I feel myself carried away by a sort of joyous mental excitement, a kind of Delphic or Sibylline breath, when I read of these things."

But though he is tremulous with excitement, he manages to keep his head pretty well. In fact he seems to have been the first to have suggested that it was not India but a new continent that Columbus had discovered. He is not insistent upon the point, still less was he a crank working his hobby to death. This view, often hinted at—as for instance at the opening of the fourth book of the first *Decas*—is explicitly stated in his Letter 136, which is addressed to the Archbishop of Braga:

> A certain Columbus has sailed to the Western Antipodes, even, as he believes, to the very shores of India. He has discovered many islands beyond the Eastern Ocean adjoining the Indies, which are believed to be those of which mention has been made among cosmographers. I do not wholly deny this, although the magnitude of the globe seems to suggest otherwise, for there are not wanting those who think it but a small journey from the end of Spain to the shores of India. . . . It is enough for us that the hidden half of the globe is brought to light and that day by day the Portuguese go farther and farther beyond the equinoctial circle itself. Regions hitherto unknown, as if they were all so many thoroughfares, will soon be explored.[13]

Here then is his theme. Few men have ever had a better one, or made better use of it. And the skill with which he presents it gets this just praise from Mariéjol: "The talent so simple and so varied of Peter Martyr triumphs in these pictures. In order to avoid weariness and boredom, he mixes in a charming confusion the account of the exploration with scenes of primitive manners. The vast curiosity of his mind extends to everything; and, thanks to contrasts, the interest never languishes. He redeems an arid dissertation on the constellations or the famous line of demarcation by the picture of this savage nature, all filled with woods and forests, flowing with cascades of living water, crossed and quick-

[13] Cited by Thacher, I, 59.

ened by immense rivers. In turn naturalist, geographer and artist, he devotes a lively intelligence to cosmographical problems and a profound feeling to the facts of nature".[14]

Yet he laboured under considerable disadvantages in not having seen the things that he describes. He met most of the leading figures in the discovery and conquest of the New World. He was present on the day that Columbus came into the royal presence after his astounding achievement. He speaks of Cabot and Oviedo at his table. And as secretary of the Council of the Indies he gleans a great deal from the letters of the administrators. No formal official mind was his, submerged by routine. He thought it a poor day that gave him no new astonishing fact, and then speaks tartly of his correspondents and their letters, written "by men bereft of intelligence, from which I was able to draw little material." What Mariéjol says of the *Opus Epistolarum* (a work that does not come directly into our survey) was equally true of the *Decades:* "Political affairs, popular superstitions, phenomena of the heavens and the earth, everything interests him. Nothing escapes him, either of matters or of men."[15]

About both he was at times a little too credulous, and it may be noticed that in the later *Decades* the stories by degrees grow taller. That may have been due to the infirmities of old age coming upon him; but more probably it indicated that his familiarity with the marvellous made him disinclined to reject what seemed to be impossible. Why should he question the wonders of these strange lands? And, after all, he had heard men attest to these things, or had read their letters.

Thus he tells us of a bird so enormous that no tree was strong enough to support it, a bird who left the marks of its talons upon any rock upon which it rested at night. We also hear of a fish with which fishermen went hunting other fish; and again of a fish that was trained to act as a ferryman—"Anyone who wished to cross the lake merely made a sign and the fish advanced to receive him on its back. One day it carried ten men altogether on its back transporting them safely, while they sang and played musical instruments." (This comes in, no doubt, on Pooh-Bah's

[14] *Op. cit.*, 204.

[15] *Op. cit.*, 174.

principle, by way of corroborative detail to give artistic verisimilitude to a bald and unconvincing narrative.) In the same fairy-tale manner he proceeds: "If it perceived a Christian when it raised its head it dived under water and refused to obey. That was because it had once been beaten by a peevish young Christian, who threw a sharp dart at this amiable and domesticated fish. The dart did it no harm because of the thickness of its skin, which is all rough and covered with points, but the fish never forgot the attack, and from that day forth every time it heard its name called, it first looked carefully about to see if it beheld anybody dressed like the Christians. It loved to play upon the bank with the servants of the cacique, and especially with the young son who was in the habit of feeding it. It was more amusing than a monkey."[16] It must have been!

Peter Martyr is the first to mention the Fountain of Youth. But if he has been imposed upon we can hardly blame him. Three apparently reputable witnesses, one of them Ayllon, all testify to the fact. And to them is added a man named Andreas whose father actually drank of the spring and bathed in it, and had his youth renewed like the eagle's.

Ayllon, "a serious and responsible man, who had his information from those who had shared with him the cost of the expedition" to Florida, informs Peter Martyr of a tribe whose chiefs (and only their chiefs) attain a gigantic size. In part this was brought about by their feeding, like the larvae intended to become queen bees, on food that had a special virtue. But also it was due to their bones being softened when they were children, and then stretched out.

But if we get a good deal of this sort of thing, Peter Martyr is much more often extremely accurate in his account of American animals, and scenery, and customs, though his information always is given at second hand. He describes the albatross so well, that it is difficult to believe that the man who brings that strange bird so vividly before our eyes had himself never seen it. So also with the armadillo, of which he writes:

[16] Cited by MacNutt, *op. cit.*, 373-4.

This animal was no larger than a cat, and had the snout of a fox, its colour being silvered, and half its body covered with scales; it was fitted out like an equerry who arms his horse when about to go into battle. This animal moves very little, and if he sees a man in the distance, he curls himself up like a porcupine or a turtle.

And Peter Martyr's insatiable curiosity leads him to revert several times to the significance of the Gulf Stream, of which he was easily the first to perceive the importance. He draws the attention of Leo X to it with most engaging magniloquence: "The time has come, Most Holy Father, to philosophise a little, leaving cosmography to seek the causes of Nature's secrets."

And though Nature's secrets, with all their enchanting oddities, take up what some (but not I) may think a disproportionate amount of his space in the *Decades,* he still is able to give us a great deal of valuable historical information. For the early history of Columbus he is indispensable; and his is the first account of the conquest of Mexico. Balboa, too, whom he treats with cool detachment, regarding him as a ruffianly adventurer who developed too late into something much better, has his story told briefly but adequately in these pages. Pedrarias, Gil Gonzales, Garay, Enciso and the unfortunate Nicuesa—upon all these he has something to say which subsequent historians have found very much to their purpose. Others among the conquistador chroniclers have given fuller information about the adventurers in which each happened to be engaged. Peter Martyr, gleaning what he could from the letters of the colonial administrators, and from the conversation of those who had returned to Spain, takes in a general view, with a wide sweep, the exploration and settlement of the New World. And all the time he is so tremulous with excitement about the whole matter, that in no other writer do we feel to the same extent how great the exploits of the Spaniards appeared to their contemporaries.[17]

The first book of Peter Martyr, which takes in only the first *Decade,* appeared in 1511. This is his *Legatio Babylonica,* (which

[17] For the methods used to gather this information, see O'Hara, "Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca: first President of the Council of the Indies," *Catholic Historical Review,* III, 131-150.

gives us an account of his embassy to the Sultan of Egypt) and his *Oceani Decas*. The first three *Decades* were published in 1516, and a fourth in 1521. Not till 1580 did the full Latin text of the eight *Decades* appear, followed by new editions in 1584 and 1587. The first translation into English was made by Richard Eden and published in 1577; but this of course contained only the first three *Decades*. The completion of the translation was made by M. Lok and published in 1612. The best Latin edition, and indeed the only one now generally available, is that edited by Don Joaquin Torres Asensio and published at Madrid in two volumes in 1892.

I shall make no attempt to give a complete bibliography. But it is necessary to say that the most satisfactory life of Peter Martyr in English is that by John Boyd Thacher in the first volume of his *Christopher Columbus*. This lays the emphasis, naturally enough, upon Peter Martyr the historian. The most complete account of the man—giving the right weight to his importance as a humanist is Jean Hippolyte Mariéjol's *Un Lettré Italien à la Cour d'Espagne: Pierre Martyr D'Anghera, sa vie et ses oeuvres*, published in 1887. The best translation of the *Decades* is that made in French by Paul Gaffarel in 1897. This has excellent notes and commentaries. The translation most readily available for us is MacNutt's *De Orbe Novo, the Eight "Decades" of Peter Martyr D'Anghera* in two volumes, published in New York. But only 375 copies of the work were printed. MacNutt's notes are not so good as those by Gaffarel; moreover his translation, though possessing the merit of being very clear, lacks altogether the charm of the Eden and Lok version. I cannot refrain from concluding by giving two parallel passages from these books.

Here, then, is MacNutt's careful but awkward translation of a passage I select almost as random:

> The men set out together for the shore, which was not more than ten miles from the residence of Chiapes. Although the divers did not venture to the bottom of the ocean, because of the danger from the storm, nevertheless they succeeded in gathering, in a few days, six loads of pearls, including the shells gathered near the surface or strewn by the violence of the storm on the sands. They fed greedily on the flesh of these animals.

The pearls found were not larger than a lentil or a little pea, but they had a beautiful orient, for they had been taken out while the animal was still alive. Not to be accused of exaggeration concerning the size of these shells, the Spaniards sent the king some remarkable specimens, from which the meat had been removed, at the same time as the pearls. It does not seem possible that shells of such size should be found anywhere. These shells and the gold which has been found pretty much everywhere are proof that Nature conceals vast treasures in this country, though thus far the exploration covered, so to speak, the little finger of a pigmy, since all that is known is the neighbourhood of Uraba. What it will be when the whole hand of the giant is known and the Spaniards shall have penetrated into all the profound and mysterious parts of the continent, no man can say.[18]

And now listen to Eden's version of the same passage:

The fishing place was distant from the pallace of *Chiapes* about tenne myles. They durst not adventure to dyve to the bottome, by reason of the furie of the sea: Yet of the muscles which lye hyghest, and of such as were dryven to the shore by the violence of the water, they brought sixe great fardelles in the space of a few dayes. The pearls of these were but little, about the bygnenesse of small fytches: yet verie fayre and beautiful by reason that they were taken newely out of the fishes, being yet rawe. And that they should not be reproved of lying, as concerning the bigness of these sea muscles, they sent many of them into Spain to the king, with the pearls, the fishe being taken out: We think verily that there may in no place bigger be founde. These shel fishes therefore being thus founde here in so many places in that sea, and gold in maner in every house, do argue the riche treasurie of nature to be hidden in those wastes, forasmuche as great riches have ben founde, as it were in the litle finger of a giauntes hand, What then may we thinke of the whole hand of the giaunt (for hitherto they have onlie benne in hande with the confines of Uraba) when they shall have thoroughlie searched all the wastes and secretes of the inner parts of all that large lande.[19]

How much less accurate that is than the one before; but how much more charming! And I for one think that history loses somewhat, even while it gains, when deprived of that antique flavour.

In any event, Peter Martyr should be much better known than he is as a historian. For if he has nothing else to recommend

[18] *Op. cit.*, I, 296-7.

[19] The 1612 translation of the *Novo Orbe*, 101-2.

him—and he has a good deal—he ought to be duly honored as the first man to write of the New World. As it is, only a few experts take the trouble to make themselves acquainted with his work. Towards the debt due him it is therefore a pleasure for me to make this trifling payment on account.

THEODORE MAYNARD.

MISCELLANY

THE HARVARD-CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY JOINT EXPEDITION TO SERABIT-EL-KHADIM (SINAI)

Serabit-el-Khadim is a plateau about sixty-five miles southeast of Suez where turquoise was extracted from the sandstone beds by the Kings of Egypt from the beginning of the third milennium B. C. down to about the twelfth century B. C. There they left many monuments commemorating their mining expeditions and showing their devotion to the goddess of turquoise. Before they came to Serabit-el-Khadim, the Egyptian rulers had begun work at another place a little south, called Maghareh, and a monument of Samerkeht of the first dynasty is still a witness to the earliest known expedition to Sinai. Snefru of the third dynasty is the one that opened the mines of Serabit and henceforth the two places were worked simultaneously; but Serabit was destined to take the precedence and acquire a fame far superior to the older fields of Maghareh.

At Serabit there was a sacred cave dedicated to a Semitic goddess whose name is not given but which appears on the inscription as the "Lady" (Ba'alat), or the Lady of Turquoise. She was identified with the Egyptian Cow-Goddess Hathor, and is thus represented on the Egyptian monuments. Being on a Semitic soil, the goddess was worshipped with a Semitic ritual and according to Egyptian theology she was really the Lady of the place and no success could be achieved unless proper regard was shown to her. The Egyptians built a temple leading into the sacred cave. Each succeeding Pharaoh enlarged and embellished it until they definitely abandoned the mines towards the middle of the twelfth century, B. C. With her they associated Sopdu, the God of the East, who also received a shrine by the side of the cave. This temple is still there on the desert plateau of Serabit, but time, rain and probably earthquakes have done their work and today it is a mass of ruins but the foundations of the outside walls are still in place and we can form an accurate idea of its lines.

At the beginning, it seems that the Pharaohs met with a strong resistance at the hands of the natives of the country; they are almost always represented as smiting the Sheikhs of the Sinaitic clans. The Semitic character of those people is unmistakable and corresponds

exactly to the representations of the Asiatics on the monuments of Egypt proper. With the advent of the twelfth dynasty, particularly of Amenemhat III (nineteenth century, B. C.), conditions had changed, and we find the Semites taking part in the mining expeditions. On the inscriptions, they are called Retennu and A'amu and are supposed to have come from southern Palestine and Syria. The leader of the Retennu is even mentioned by name: "Hebdet, the brother of the prince of the Retennu"; other good Semitic names are found on an obelisk, Yehanem, Baasha, Keni. Among the A'amu there is a certain Lua or Luy (Levi) mentioned on a monument dedicated to Hathor. We do not hear of the Semites working at Serabit under any other dynasty, although of course, it is possible that they could have been there without being mentioned.

The Egyptians have left many monuments at Serabit-el-Khadim as they have also at Maghareh. It was to make an inventory of these monuments that an expedition was organized by Flinders-Petrie which visited both Maghareh and Serabit in 1905-1906. An account of the expedition was published by Flinders-Petrie in his *Researches in Sinai* (London, 1906) but it was not until 1917 that the monuments themselves were made known to the scientific world by Allan H. Gardiner and T. Eric Peet in their monumental *Inscriptions of Sinai* (London, 1917).

Along with the Egyptian monuments written in ordinary hieroglyphs, Flinders-Petrie discovered a certain number of tablets inscribed with characters resembling the hieroglyphs but not having their phonetic value. Their regular recurrence and their small number led him to the conclusion that it was some kind of alphabetic writing. Photographs and squeezes were taken of these inscriptions but the inscriptions themselves, with few exceptions, were left at Serabit near what he called mines L and M (our own mines XIII and XIV). By means of these, scholars began a work of decipherment, but the task was a hard one. The slabs were in a very bad state of preservation and, at times, especially on photographs, it was hard to determine the exact shape of the signs, with the result that some took as engraved signs what to others appeared to be only weather marks. Besides, supposing the signs to have been accurately read, what was their phonetic value, and what was the language of the inscriptions? After some minor attempts, Alan H. Gardiner published an epoch-making article under the title of "The Egyptian Origin of the Semitic Alphabet" (*Jour-*

nal of Egyptian Archaeology, III, 1917). In this article, assuming that the language was Semitic, he proposed certain phonetic values to the signs, derived from the principle of acrophony according to which the picture of an object was the phonetic value of its first letter. A square representing a house, Beth, would have the value of the letter B, etc. In the same number of the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,* Dr. A. Cowley of Oxford, also following the principle of acrophony, gave values very different at times from those assigned by Gardiner. The question is very important for a scientific study of the origin of the Phoenician alphabet from which our own is derived. In spite of the work of many scholars such as Sethe, Eisler, Grimme, Bruston, Ullman and others, many obscurities still remained. In the actual decipherment of these Semitic slabs, the most hopeless disagreement prevailed, mostly on account of the disagreement on the form of the signs themselves. No permanent progress could be made unless the originals themselves were made available to the scholars. It was at this point that Prof. Kirsopp Lake, Prof. Robert P. Blake and the Rev. A. W. Johnson, then on the Michigan-Harvard mission to the monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai, were asked to stop at Serabit on their way from the monastery to Suez and to bring the original slabs back to Cairo. This they did in the spring of 1927. An account of their work and how the present writer became interested in the inscriptions and how he in turn attempted an interpretation, has been told in an article published in the *Harvard Theological Review,* January, 1928. The reader who is interested in this problem will also find in that article a rather complete bibliography of the work done up to that time. Since then, other articles have been published, by Bruston, Jean, Cowley, Grimme, Leibowitch, all of which will be utilized in our forthcoming publication on the result of the expedition, which we now will explain in a few words.

As a result of his study of the inscriptions the present writer came to the conclusion that there must still have been similar tablets at Serabit-el-Khadim, especially in the sleeping shelters, and that a thorough search should be undertaken. After conferring with Professors Lake and Blake, it was decided that an attempt should be made to raise funds for such an expedition. They were further encouraged in their plans by the report of a Finnish Mission under Prof. Hjelt of Helsingfors which stopped at Serabit and recovered such a tablet. Professors Hjelt and Lindblom both wrote urging us to go

and promising good results. Friends of the two universities placed at our disposal sufficient funds for this work and the expedition was organized under the name of The Harvard-Catholic University Joint Expedition to Serabit. The representatives of the two universities met at Cairo at the end of January, 1930. They were Professors Kirsopp Lake and Robert P. Blake representing Harvard and Professor R. Butin, S.M., representing the Catholic University. To insure further the success of the mission, they secured the services of Mrs. S. New, a Guggenheim scholar and an expert photographer, of Père A. Barrois of the Dominicans of Jerusalem, a good surveyor and archaeologist, who besides would act as interpreter of the expedition if need be; and of Prof. A. De Buck, of Leyden and Chicago, a prominent Egyptologist. The English Sinai Mining Company had kindly made all arrangements for camels and guides to take us to Serabit and stay with us as long as our work would require. We left Suez on February 6 on the *Argyll,* a collier of the company, and reached Abu Zenimeh next day at 6 a. m. We immediately boarded a train on the narrow gauge railway which took us eighteen kilometers further. A truck met us there and carried us and our supplies thirteen kilometers through Wady Shellal. At this point the party formed into a caravan consisting of nineteen camels and their drivers. How we reached Serabit, and the work we did there, has been told by Père Barrois in an article in the October number of the *Revue Biblique,* and will be given at greater length in the official publication of the expedition. Suffice it to say that during the four weeks which we spent at Serabit, we succeeded in recovering more than a dozen inscriptions in the new script. The hypothesis of the present writer that the sleeping shelters were the most likely places to contain such inscriptions, was verified. Slabs originally inscribed were found in almost all of them, but the inscriptions themselves, whether Egyptian or Semitic, had been weathered and worn out beyond recognition; we had arrived at Serabit perhaps 2000 years too late. As it was, the inscriptions which we discovered will contribute their share to the solution of the Sinaitic problems. True, most of them are incomplete, but the characters are much clearer in some than anything we have had hitherto. These we brought back to Cairo and deposited them in the Museum after having taken photographs and squeezes of them and after making a transcription of them. Since then, the Egyptian Museum has presented a set of casts to each one of the universities engaged in the

expedition. So that we have taken all possible means against errors in reading.

What do these tablets really contain? It is still premature to offer a translation. The present writer is working on them and so far he has not discovered anything very sensational. They will help in solving the problem of the origin of the alphabet but will not yield, directly at least, much material of historical value. For the greater part, they seem to indicate that such and such a shelter had been erected by so and so, and serve as a mark of ownership. The places where the tablets were found has been carefully noted and it seems that the Semites had a camp about half a mile from the Egyptian miners. In the vicinity of mines XIII and XIV we did not find a single Egyptian slab, while farther west, a camp revealed only Egyptian stelae and not a single Semitic inscription *in situ*. We found there it is true one beautiful Semitic inscription but it had been evidently brought there from some other place and was not connected with any sleeping shelter. Those shelters are a very simple affair; they consist of rough stones piled up in the form of a circle or of a horseshoe, inside of which there is a little space for sleeping at night. It is interesting to note that the present day Bedouins follow the same method and thus protect themselves against wind and sand.

This is not the only result of the expedition. At the lower end of a ravine, Rod-el-'Air where it approaches Wady Ba'aleh, a whole series of Egyptian inscriptions were discovered, written on the face of the rock, and some of which at least belonging to the twelfth dynasty. This is the road that the Egyptians took to reach the top of the plateau; a little further up cairns indicate the road to be followed to reach the Egyptian camp referred to above. This alone would have more than justified the expense of the expedition.

Father Barrois has prepared a plan of the plateau, scale 1/5000, with the various Wadys and mines much more accurately drawn than had been done heretofore. This map was accepted as the official map of Serabit by the Egyptian government and will be published at its expense; a certain number of copies will be placed at our disposal for our forthcoming publication.

I may add that an unexpected confirmation of the opinion I had put forward in my article in the *Harvard Theological Review* as to the age of the inscriptions has been found in an inscribed potsherd discovered at Gezer in southwestern Palestine. The characters are Sinaitic

and the potsherd itself apart from the writing is ascribed by P. Vincent, Prof. Garstang, Dr. C. Fisher and Prof. W. F. Albright to the early Second Bronze Age, about 1800 B. C. The potsherd was described by Prof. W. R. Taylor of Toronto, in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society,* 1930, pp. 16 ff.; 79 ff. I had the occasion to examine it in Jerusalem and identified the characters. It is also interesting to note that two other alphabetical systems have been discovered in very recent years. One based on the cuneiform system, discovered by F. A. Schaeffer at Ras Shamra, north of Latakieh in Syria. An account of the discoveries made there was published in the October number of the *National Geographic Magazine*; an attempt at decipherment has been made by Hans Bauer in *Forschungen und Fortschritte,* Aug. 20, 1930, and another by Père Dhorme, O.P., in *Revue Biblique* October, 1930. Another system, apparently only partially alphabetic, was unearthed at Byblos, Syria, by Maurice Dunand. It is based on a system of pictorial writing but in places quite different from the Egyptian hieroglyphics and also from our own Sinaitic writing. Mr. Dunand has published the inscription in *Syria,* vol. XI, P. 1 ff., 1930. It was the good fortune of the present writer to examine the original in the Museum of Beyrouth and to secure a good photograph from Mr. Dunand himself, as well as a hand tracing by Père Barrois. Both those systems are ascribed to the first part of the second millennium B. C. It is very probable that other attempts at alphabetical writing were made at other places, and we wonder sometimes whether, as far as certain letters are concerned, our Phoenician system did not borrow them from some alphabet still undiscovered. The problem is not solved yet, but we are nearing a solution; at least unlike the Glozel puzzle, it is not hopeless.

R. Butin, S.M.

BOOK REVIEWS

Pioneers of Christendom: Bishops. By W. E. Brown. (London: Sands and Co. 1929. Pp. vii, 280. 3s. 6d.)

This is an admirable series of essays on five of the outstanding episcopal figures in western Church history from the fourth to the eleventh centuries. The principle of the selection of these characters was their appropriateness for illustration of "the process by which the Roman Empire of the fourth century passed into the Christendom of the eleventh" (Foreword, p. v): St. Ambrose was chosen "because he upheld that tradition of the relations of Church and State which the Christian kingdoms were to inherit"; St. Martin, because he prepared that Christian society in which the Frankish monarchy was to be built; Wilfrid, Boniface and Dunstan because they played important parts at different stages in the formation of the barbarian Christian kingdoms.

Footnotes are confined to abbreviated references to sources, and all strictly critical discussion of sources and their interpretation is confined to a note appended to each essay. These appendices show careful scrutiny and well-considered judgment of the evidence. Due weight is given to the conclusions of Stubbs, Jaffé, Ewald, Levison, and other documentary authorities of the first rank in the Rolls Series and the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, without hesitation in differing from them where the author detects the influence of preconception. For instance, in the study of St. Dunstan he differs from Stubbs's introduction in the Rolls Series, in failing to find evidence for any "great direct political work" by St. Dunstan under King Edred, or any warrant for calling Dunstan "prime minister". Mr. Brown also differs from the usual attribution to St. Boniface of the character of a "great administrator", and on the contrary stresses his natural timidity; he regards the assumption that Boniface was a papal legate in 719 as a straining of the evidence, and an invention of difficulties against Boniface's subordination to St. Willibrord in Frisia at the time. At greater length the author defends the reliability of the contemporary *Vita B. Martini* of Sulpitius Severus against M. Babut, whose distrust of St. Martin's chief biographer is shared by Labriolle, Jullian, and Delehaye, the last rejecting Sulpitius altogether. The important contribution of Babut which Brown acknowledges in this connection is his stress on the evidence in Sulpitius that St. Martin was unpopular. By detailed examination of the evidence Brown convicts Babut, as it seems to us, successfully, of being influenced in his attack on the trustworthiness of Sulpitius Severus, by "the

hypothesis of some philosophers that miracles do not occur". In the study of St. Wilfrid, Brown insists that not enough weight has been given to the points on which Wilfrid adhered to the Celtic tradition, a fact obscured in Bede's account because of the greater uniformity of Catholic use prevalent in Bede's time, and because of a natural and perhaps unconscious unwillingness on the part of Bede to think of Wilfrid as having continued the Celtic uses. If this insistence by Mr. Brown is well founded, St. Wilfrid's zeal for Petrine authority stands out, not (as is often represented in Anglican interpretations of English ecclesiastical history) as a kind of fad for continental customs indulged in by a supposedly restless and eccentric character, but as a strong and fundamental conviction about Catholic authority, contended for by a priest normally attached to his native Northumbrian associations. Brown follows Hahn in rejecting the theory that Stephen, Wilfrid's disciple and biographer, was Stephen Eddi, originally from Canterbury.

The evident object of these studies is to clarify the connection between the orthodox sanctity of the personalities treated in the work, and the social system which they had such an undeniable share in building. Though the studies are short, and confine themselves to matters of outstanding importance in connection with their main object, they bring to the discussion judicial temper, recognition of sound rational principles in weighing evidence, and deference to experienced research balanced by vigilance against the *tendenz* of modern presuppositions. Critical insight here aids competently in stripping away the fiction, all too familiar to readers of accounts of medieval civilization in its formative stages such as are to be found in the Cambridge series, in George Burton Adams and elsewhere, that it was only by clever statecraft, by taking over into Church policy the Roman gift for control and administration, that the Church was able to add solidity to the social reconstruction of western Europe. In the treatment of St. Ambrose as the initial study this is illustrated in a pertinent example of a bishop drawn from the official Roman class, and ruling an important imperial see: though "never once did he fail to use the training that the Roman culture gave him", yet "never once did he regard it as the best preparation for the episcopate" (p. 52). Although as Bishop of Milan, he might have exalted his own dignity with relation to the see of Rome, in 379 he defined the Catholic episcopate in terms of communion with Rome, and in the council of 381 "reasserted his own dependence and that of all other bishops on the Roman pontiff" (p. 14). Against danger of betrayal of divine law, and of schism, through courtier prelates, Ambrose witnessed from his capital city See as St. Martin did from his cell. Neither were demagogues (pp. 37, 39, 42, 99-102): such popular support as the one had in his struggles, such veneration as the other won posthumously, were the effect of the majesty

and simplicity of faith, vindicated in St. Martin's case with supernatural signs. Mr. Brown stresses St. Martin's caution about the authenticity of relics and miracles, together with the reliability of the testimony about his own miracles, and here takes occasion (pp. 105, 117) to lay down rational rules for judging evidence in such manners. In the career of Wilfrid, there are stressed the latter's Celtic-Saxon ideas of local church-organization—that of a tribal and monastic type of episcopate, as opposed to one city-centered or territorial; a bishop-abbot independent of the king by rich temporal endowment—and the fact that though he clung to native traditions that eventually passed away, he taught Englishmen never to forget "the way to Rome", so that for four hundred years "no archbishop of Canterbury ever claimed or exercised the practical independence that was often conceded to the metropolitans of Rheims and Mayence" (pp. 170, 171). In treating of the labors of St. Boniface, his reformation of the Frankish Church, his excision of heathen and half-heathen practices, as well as his pioneer missionary achievements, we are shown how Boniface's difficulties arose from scruples due to his monastic training, and how these scruples were met through his reliance on papal authority, which supplied him with the wisdom of applied charity and justice (pp. 185-193), stored in the experience and the responsibility of the Apostolic See. Of Boniface's letters Brown says: "Protestant historians have celebrated the Apostle of Germany, and have even tried to exaggerate the independence of his labours. . . . There is ready made a picture of a Napoleon of organization . . . Warren Hastings, Gordon, Rhodes were such. . . . But . . . Boniface's letters . . . betray . . . the hesitation of the *dévot* rather than the brusque decision of the pioneer." Dunstan's ecclesiastical reforms are emphasized rather than his direct political influence. These reforms Brown refuses to construe as a monasticization, but as a restoration, of canonical discipline, in which, often, monks were substituted for clerks whose promises could not be trusted. "Either live canonically or surrender your benefices" was the alternative given to secularized clerks (pp. 259-265). By enforcing the rule of clerical celibacy, Dunstan enabled the Church to reform lay morals. Brown does not underestimate Dunstan's direct influence in making royal power recognize its responsibility (pp. 270, 271); but since "the Pagan rulers overthrew the secular state" . . . and since later "the nobles and the system they stood for overthrew canonical discipline . . . the training which Dunstan and his friends instituted" enabled the clergy and the monks of lesser rank "to respond quickly to the reforms of Gregory VII".

This little book of brief essays is a significant index of how in England historical scholarship is correcting traditional distortions of European history, with regard to the rôle of the Church in social reconstruction

following the decline of antiquity. There is little or nothing to indicate whether the writer is a Catholic or a high Anglican, to anyone aware of recent trends within the establishment. Crucial doctrinal questions are treated objectively and for the most part by implication only the convictions of the author can be divined. Behind the whole line of inquiry is discernible the desire to discover the marks left upon the course of human events of the Catholic interior life of sanctity; and though the author candidly confesses that he has "failed completely" to trace some "intimate connection between the sanctity of these men and their success" (p. vii), he has rather clearly indicated the solution to the problem: strength was made perfect in weakness, and ultimate success resulted from the apparent failure of faith and humility.

W. T. M. GAMBLE.

Washington, D. C.

Survivals and New Arrivals. By HILAIRE BELLOC. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. 219.)

Mr. Belloc considers in this book a phenomenon frequently observed by the student of history, viz., the successive rise, flourishing, and decay of anti-Catholic movements. On the one side you have the Church, unchanging in faith and morals; on the other side you have an opposition which is not only constantly altering its field, but at times even assuming a point of attack diametrically the reverse of one previously held. Thus the Pelagian attacked the Church because she insisted on Grace, the Lutheran attacked her because she insisted on Free Will; at one time she is derided by the intellectualist as suited only to the ignorant and unlearned, at another she is impugned by the emotionalist as having over-elaborated her theology and over-emphasized the intellectual aspect of faith. The shifting attack may range indefinitely, now coming forth as a defence of "progress," now assuming the mask of patriotism, and so on. And the abiding sameness of the Church contrasted with the ever-changing and sometimes contradictory grounds of the enemy is a strong argument that she is right.

Obviously, if we could discover a law in this seeming chaos, if we could plot the curve of anti-Catholicism, we should possess the strategic advantage of being able to anticipate attack; but the futility of endeavoring to reduce to a formula the kaleidoscopic vagaries of human stupidity and malice is too ludricrously obvious to one who recognizes that man's will is free. Mr. Belloc wastes no time on such vain effort, but confines himself to the more modest—and therefore more scientific—task of observing, recording, and classifying, with a little cautious prophesying at the end. He notes that at any given time the attacks on the Church may be divided into three classes: those that are setting, those that are blazing in the

zenith, and those that are just beginning to peep above the horizon. And few, if any, will take exception to his classification.

The portion of greatest practical interest is, of course, that wherein he treats of the present and the nascent enemies, and here he is at his best. His incisive dissection of "The Modern Mind," his exposal of its purely negative character, lack of coherence, and want of a systematic philosophical basis, are excellent; and on the dangerous ground of prediction his tread is wary but firm. He renders a valuable service when he reveals the subtle connection between immorality and the ugliness of modern art, a connection which seems to have eluded the eyes of some Catholics, to judge from their willingness to incorporate in church building the hideous features of contemporary architecture. Here he might have uttered a word on the significance of the liturgical revival on its aesthetic side, for the return to more beautiful models in vestments, etc., may prove the most effective antidote to Cubism, Futurism and the other children of the Father of Lies and of Ugliness.

He ends on a note which some may consider pessimistic: "When [persecution] shall once more be at work it will be morning." But to one who surveys the present scene, with its combination of bad logic and insidiousness, there may well seem to be no way for the Church to triumph except through open attack supported by paganism's intellectual, aesthetic, social, and economic forces and not disdaining bodily torture. Something like a return to the first three centuries may be in store for us, and therein may lie our hope.

EDWIN RYAN.

The Catholic University of America.

Corso di Storia della Chiesa. By L. TODESCO, Professor of the Theological Faculty of the Seminary of Padua. 5 vols. (Torino. 1922-1929.)

We are glad to be able to praise this industrious work which must by this time have established itself in Italian seminaries as a valuable help both to teachers and to whatever part of the student bodies feels the urge to get behind the dry texts of the manuals.

The author has taken the trouble throughout the work to present a narrative that is fairly full and intelligible. He has also been at pains to consult so much at least of the sources as to bring in frequent picturesque details which add to the readableness and make vivid the periods under discussion. Thus for example in dealing with St. Columban he has given sufficient data from the rule and practice of the Irish continental monasteries as to make clear the specific character of those foundations and their difference from the Benedictines who supplanted them.

It may be mentioned as casting light on the cultural background of

the author's reading public that he has no hesitation in presenting sometimes full page quotations from Latin and French authors in the original and without translation.

Some objections however must be taken to the general tone of this work. In the first place there is too much space given to mere apologetic, and much of this is given in the traditional plaintive way. It is no refutation, for example, of the views of Rationalists on St. Paul's relation to our Lord simply to record their views with an exclamation point as if they were self-destroying.

Again, in one who has done the somewhat wide reading which a work of this kind implies, we should look for a more virile and mature viewpoint. Yet the heresiarchs are treated with the usual epithets: Arius is deceitful and proud, Nestorius violent, Calvin a sectary, etc., etc. Real scholarship understands that most of the heresiarchs had at least the courage of their convictions, and tries to trace the psychological genesis of their opinions.

Lastly there should be for each period treated something in the nature of a preliminary study of the administrative side of the Church. For example, it is impossible to understand the difficulties of the Conciliar period without a good explanation of the fiscal practices of the Curia.

However there is much in these volumes that will instruct their readers and encourage them perhaps to deeper studies.

JOHN KEATING CARTWRIGHT.

Washington, D. C.

The Continuity of Religion. By JAMES BOSSUET, Bishop of Meaux. Translated from the original by Monsignor Victor Day. (Helena: Msgr. Victor Day, V. G. 1930. Pp. xvi, 233.)

Genuine history requires the concatenation of events; the individual facts remain merely *disjecta membra*, unless they are united by the principle which brought them about, and unless they appear animated with the soul which ruled over their actual development. In the history of a nation we want to see how it progressed and advanced, or how in consequence of the operation of certain causes and influences it gradually declined and perhaps lost its identity. We also look upon the history of all mankind as one continuous whole, all the parts of which have moved on through the activity of man's free will, sometimes retarded or favored by natural conditions, to their present position in the family of nations. The more perfectly the historian is able to show up this causal relation of fact to fact, this working out of plans, intentions, coöperation, and obstructions, the more perfect will the history be which he produces.

The greatest of all great movements in the world of man is religion.

Though we acknowledge the activity of Divine Providence even in secular history, religion such as we possess it is based on the supernatural interference, the special guidance and extraordinary protection of God Himself. And if any events in the developments of human history are linked together, this is by far more the case with those facts which make up the history of religion. Our religion is as old as mankind, and has continued in uninterrupted flow through all the centuries and millenniums of human existence.

This fact is the subject of the great Bossuet, which Monsignor Day by an excellent translation has made accessible to a wider public. It is a timely undertaking. Even our young high school students are inoculated with the idea that originally there was no such thing as religion; that polytheism was the first in the field; and that only gradually the Israelites adopted the worship of One God. If his wonderful eloquence secured for Bossuet the epithet of "Eagle of Meaux", he deserves it no less for his historical writings. Like an eagle the author soars above the ages of mankind with their deeds and misdeeds, and points out the acts of divine love, power, and protection, which resulted in the unbroken life of the one true religion. It is natural that he deals chiefly with the Chosen People and its supernatural mission of perpetuating and developing this religion under constant divine influence, and that he follows up its fates until its own blindness brought on its destruction.

This work, and the entire publication (*Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*) of which it is a part, attracted the widest attention, and was hailed with admiration not only by Catholics but also by countless believing Protestants. Though Bossuet, if he lived in our days, would express some points differently, would omit some statements and perhaps replace them by others even more telling than his own, the work remains a counterpoise against the rationalistic tendencies which threaten to take hold of the historiography of the present time.

FRANCIS S. BETTEN, S. J.

Marquette University.

The Mass of the Apostles. The Eucharist: Its Nature, Earliest History and Present Application. By JOSEPH HUSSLEIN, S. J., PH. D., Fordham University School of Sociology and Social Service. (New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons. 1929. Pp. xiv, 333. $2.75; by mail, $2.90.)

The author shows us that the Mass of the Apostles has continued down the ages unchanged in its substance and outlines. His wide learning is not so obtrusive as to repel the ordinary reader, although the claims of scholarship are respected throughout. A reason is given for every statement, and the reader's judgment is satisfied; but his affections are mean-

while almost insensibly drawn toward the divinest of divine things, the daily renewal of the Sacrifice of Calvary.

The abundant but diverse and fragmentary character of the sources makes such a task difficult. The author employs throughout the essential art of recapitulation and of frequent but varied repetition. His chapters are brief and are attractively headed. Instead of a ponderous bibliography we have a copious index. Footnotes are generally avoided, although inevitably frequent in the sequence of chapters, pp. 136-178, and mayhap desirable elsewhere (*e. g.*, to explain *Mishna*, used thrice, and *Selah*, used twice, as well as *species* and *accidents*, and *Pax*, inasmuch as the Kiss of Peace was anciently a literal fact but is now only a symbolic salute in Solemn Mass; and the *Mysterium Fidei* goes without discussion, although often mentioned as the Mystery of Faith).

The proof-reading has been well done for a work abounding in strange words. Future editions will correct Athenasius (p. 278), Galasian (pp. 325, 331), Achisynagogus (p. 329), "transsubstantiation" (p. 300, where the word is also spelled "transubstantiation"). The publishers are to be commended for the clear and large typography, the heavy paper, and the substantial and attractive binding.

HUGH T. HENRY.

The Catholic University of America.

From Tarsus to Rome. The Story of the First Christian Hierarchy. By HERMAN J. HEUSER, D.D. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1929. Pp. vii, 167.)

This book purports to give an "outline of the primitive *hierarchical* institution immediately after Christ's Ascension to Heaven" (p. vi). The perusal of the essay shows that the author does not intend to furnish a critical scientific investigation of the complicated problem involved. He presupposes his point of view as proved and gives us in twenty-two chapters of pleasant reading graphic descriptions of early Christian institutions as he sees them—if only matters were as simple as they appear to the writer. But, although we may not agree with him in many points, we admire him for this vivid and enthusiastic sketch.

H. SCHUMACHER.

The Catholic University of America.

Minucius Felix and His Place Among the Early Fathers of the Latin Church. By H. J. BAYLIS, M.A., D.D. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1928. Pp. 376. $5.00.)

This valuable treatise covers all the important questions centered in the *Octavius* of Marcus Minucius Felix. That Minucius Felix was a Chris-

tian can no longer be denied; the arguments of Kuhn that he was not fully imbued with Christianity, and of Bährens that he was a pagan, fall before the case here made out. The *Octavius* was written with a view to making converts; it had the further, though hardly conscious, intended effect of carrying over into Christian civilization all that was best in Greek and Roman culture. It was written, as Baylis concludes from a thorough examination of all the available data, during the latter years of Antoninus Pius while Fronto the Rhetorician was still alive. It should probably be dated before 160, and thus to Minucius Felix and not to Tertullian should belong the proud title of "first Father of the Latin Church" (Catholics do not class Tertullian as a "Father"). As an example of Latin style, the *Octavius* has always held a high place; Baylis here deals more with its philosophy in relation to all the currents then running in Rome and other centers of culture.

The question of the priority in time of Minucius Felix over Tertullian is dealt with at length. The resemblance between the *Octavius* and the *Apologeticus* is so evident as to make it certain that one depends upon the other. Harnack held that Tertullian preceded Minucius Felix, and indeed by a considerable period. Ebert in his *Tertullians Verhältniss zu Minucius Felix* (1868) presented a detailed study of the parallel passages and other issues, and concluded that Minucius Felix was the earlier writer. An intermediary view, the "common source theory," was suggested by von Hartel and worked out by F. Wilhelm. Baylis rightly urges against this last view the correspondences which are "so literal as to exclude an intermediary." He decides against Harnack, and places the *Octavius* as the first of the apologetes to write in Latin. His points are exceedingly well made; they not only clarify the issue, but are decisive. No more exact and painstaking work on this subject is likely to appear; and this is true not only of the proofs evinced in establishing the date, but also of the trenchant intuition by which old errors are linked with new. After giving an exposition of the attack of Celsus, we read (p. 63): "Strauss and Renan have said little more. Perhaps, too, they only stole the Celsian thunder." The contacts with Seneca and Cicero are well worked out. The promise, or rather hope, of the preface is more than fulfilled; those taking courses in Minucius will find in this volume a "useful companion to their studies."

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The Life of Saint Severinus by Eugippus. Translated into English for the first time with notes by GEORGE W. ROBINSON. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1914.)

The Life of Saint Boniface by Willibald. Translated into English for the first time with introduction and notes by GEORGE W. ROBINSON. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1916.)

Mr. Robinson has given us for the first time in English two of the outstanding representatives of biographical literature of the medieval period. Both works have their value as literature, but they are probably of greater worth as historical sources. Moreover, these English versions of the two biographies will probably be welcomed chiefly by the historian who is none too sure of his Latin.

Intelligent and reliable notes accompany the translations, and to increase the usefulness of these works each includes two indices, one of authors cited in the notes, and the other of general topics.

Wherever I have tested these translations they are accurate, and have not lost the flavor of the original through the translator's easy and idiomatic English.

ROY J. DEFERRARI.

The Catholic University of America.

Historia Eclesiástica de España. Por ZACARIAS GARCIA VILLADA, S. I. Tomo I: Primera Parte; Tomo I: Segunda Parte. El Christianismo durante la Dominación Romana. (Madrid: Compania Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, S. A. Libreria Fernando Fe. 1929. Pp. Primera Parte, 391; Secunda Parte, 374.)

Father Villada has set out to write a detailed history of the Spanish Church, a work which will run into six or eight volumes. There has been no attempt to offer a general history in this field since Boniface Gams wrote over fifty years ago. It is evident that the projected work is badly needed. The author's writings, especially the present volume, prove that he is eminently fitted for his great task. In his preface he remarks that he has spent twenty-six years gathering materials for his history.

In this first volume, which deals with the Roman period, he cannot offer anything like a connected narrative, because of the meagerness of the source material. For the most part he must content himself with discussing various isolated problems, each one of absorbing interest, but each one bristling with difficulties. Various monographs have been written on these problems, but previously there has been no adequate connected treatment. This is offered in the present volume. The author has made an extensive use of the literature as well as the sources.

Part I begins with the presentation of the tradition regarding St. James Major and Our Lady of the Pillar. Arguments both for and against these traditions are carefully cited, and no unwarranted conclusions are drawn. The author next discusses the evidence for St. Paul's visit to Spain and for the mission of the Seven Apostolic Men. As sources become more plentiful, he describes the development of Christianity along the Roman roads of the Peninsula, the early organization of the Spanish Church, its inner life, its union with Rome, the Christian persecutions, the Council of Elvira, the life, works and doctrine of St. Pacianus. The outstanding chapters in Part II treat of Bishop Hosius, of Priscillianism, of the early writers, especially of Prudentius, of the relations between the Church in Spain and in Africa, of the journey of the nun Etheria to the Holy Land, and of early Christian monuments and art. There are several excellent maps, and the chapter on the monuments is well illustrated. An index of names appears at the end of each part.

Father Villada's readers will wish him God-speed in his labor of love and will look forward eagerly to the appearance of subsequent volumes.

A. Ziegler.

Paris, France.

L'Architecture Religieuse en France à l'Epoque Romaine. By R. De Lasteyre, Membre de l'Institut. Seconde Edition, revue et augmentée d'une Bibliographie Critique par Marcel Aubert, Professeur d'Archéologie à l'Ecôle des Chartes. (Paris: August Picard. 1929. Pp. 582.)

Notwithstanding its importance as an item in the structure of the Gothic, Romanesque architecture has until quite recently, escaped the attention it deserves to receive. In the shadow of the later style, which culminated in the building of Chartres, Amiens, Rheims, and Notre Dame of Paris, its beauty and independence were not felt. Christian art had come to mean, by exclusion of the Romanesque and the Byzantine, the Gothic, and mainly the Gothic of the thirteenth century.

This narrowing down of the scope of the artistic achievements of the Middle Ages eliminated much that was fine and noble in conception and overstressed the capacity for invention that existed in Gothic times.

Greece and Rome, and to a marked degree the Orient, initiated the search for structural form which we discern in all later styles, and much borrowing from all of these sources persisted throughout the Middle Ages. The parentage of all structural forms was evident during the Romanesque, but in the Gothic the antecedents of its highly elaborated structural fabric became less obvious, immersed in the wealth of purely decorative devices. Romanesque links the Gothic with the Roman. Byzantine, in its insin-

cerity of structure, fails to endure, except in those notable examples of French Romanesque and Byzantine where perpetuity is established by the strength of the Romanesque in combination with the elements of Eastern origin which give pattern, color, and the beauty of geometrical ornament.

The geometrical bases of the Christian Church were the plan forms of classical antiquity. *L'Architecture Religieuse* is stimulating in its manner of creating a parallel between the characteristic structural forms of the two eras. Much that has hitherto been left to the imagination is illustrated with scientific accuracy. As the author acknowledges, photographs and drawings serve this purpose far better than his text. The drawings, mainly diagrammatic in character, have been prepared with due regard for the understanding of the lay-reader while the photographs in half-tone have been chosen for their iconographical interest. The text is at all times interesting and devoid of too intimate an entanglement in building technique. While the title of the work seems to limit the field discussed to architecture, sculpture, stained glass, painting and the other arts of embellishment are suggested in the best and most logical manner possible, in their relationship to the major art of architecture. The "Middle Ages" is not an apotheosis of stained glass or even of flying buttresses in stone, but a synthesis of all of the arts.

Romanesque architects encountered all of the difficulties that beset the designer of stone church architecture. For frankness in expression of structural requirements and sincerity in the effort to render them beautiful, the builders of the Romanesque have scarcely been surpassed. It is far easier to sense the equilibrium of structure in a Romanesque edifice than a Gothic cathedral, for reasons of the crudity, the baldness of the devices employed. The church of the Madeleine at Bezelay is easier to understand than the Sainte Chapelle. The author has very wisely chosen subjects covering a wide range of territory, voyaging as far afield as Durham in England and various basilicas in Syria in the endeavor to establish the democracy of the style. Michel, Enlart, Mâle, and Viollet le Duc have covered much the same ground, but a wider range is established in the present work by studies introduced upon the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, the Basilica at Bethlehem and the cruciform Church Monastery at Kelaat Seman, in Syria.

The Renaissance is too well known as a masquerade and its weakness is that of all imitation. The Romanesque as we see it here does not depend on the reputation of its predecessors, but offers an honest solution to its own problem and asks pardon for its sins.

We are convinced by the author that the ogive or salient rib, is of purely French origin. The adjustment of the Roman Corinthian capital to the purposes of French Romanesque is likewise exposed in a manner attractive to the student of foliated ornament. The great schools of Provence and

of Bourgogne are treated each in sympathetic vein, with all of the clarity of understanding peculiar to the French mind.

The Cistercian plan is laid before us and the theory of organization of plans at various scales and under numerous structural limitations is developed by such examples as the Abbaye aux Homenes at Caen, Notre Dame de Poitiers, St. Sernin at Toulouse and Clermont Ferrand.

Churches of radiate plan in the Rhine valley help us to discriminate between this type and that of the basilica. Choirs with radiate chapels of paramount importance in the Gothic cathedral are illustrated in such examples as at Rioux, which found expression in the earlier style. Angouleme and Périgueux, exotic specimens of predominating Byzantine influence, arouse interest in the persistence of the domical and recall St. Mark's at Venice and St. Sophia at Constantinople.

The story of the history of stained glass, of wider interest in the Gothic, had its beginning in the Romanesque. As an art of that light and color we have few specimens finer than the Romanesque windows of Chartres and LeMans. Wall painting, such as is still to be seen at St. Germain des Pres, and at St. Savin is presented as integral with architecture and a considerable amount of relatively new material is pictured. One does not resent the absence of color reproductions of stained glass or of wall paintings since such would surely do great injustice to the art of the time.

The author in dealing with a period covering some ten centuries finds himself compelled to introduce for sake of geographical contrast, edifices of Ravenna and of Rome. St. Apollinaris in Classe and St. Mary Major are not the less interesting brought into contrast with the native French monuments. One gains a fair cross-section of the style through the reading of this work without the establishment of prejudices towards other works. It has been intended and the plan fulfilled to stimulate greater research in somewhat neglected centuries, containing possibilities for still further investigation on the part of the student in architecture and archaeology.

F. V. MURPHY.

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Anti-Papal Legislation in Medieval England (1066-1377). By JOHN TRACY ELLIS. (Washington, D. C. 1930. Pp. xiv, 137.)

Mr. Ellis' book is a discussion of the various laws passed in England between William the Conqueror and Edward III in an attempt to limit the ecclesiastical and temporal power of the pope in that country. His thesis is that, what with the Statutes of Clarendon, of Provisors, and Praemunire, and other more or less petty and irritating attempts to keep England isolated and increase the king's power and wealth, so much anti-

Roman legislation was on the statute books of England before Henry VIII that the lusty Henry "really had very little new legislation to pass against Rome when he decided upon making himself the supreme head of the Church of England" (p. xi).

Although the papacy, pressed by the struggle with the emperor, made some concessions to the Conqueror in the way of investing ecclesiastics, it later tried through Anselm to retrench on this policy, but was forced to another compromise under Henry I in 1107, when it was agreed that the "ecclesiastic was to receive the ring and the staff, the emblems of his spiritual authority, from the hands of a representative of the Church, but the temporalities and the right to rule over them were to be received from the hands of the king like any other baron. It was a distinct victory for the lay power" (p. 21).

The next skirmish came under Thomas a Becket in 1164, when Henry II forced the Archbishop to accept the Constitutions of Clarendon, "the first definite and formal hostile act of legislation against the exercise of supreme power by the papacy in England . . . anti-papalism in a very real form" (p. 34). This skirmish climaxed with the murder of the primate, but that unfortunate event led to a submission on the part of the king, and a victory for the papacy.

Under the rash and weak King John, the Church regained many of its privileges in England, a condition which prevailed "for a long number of years until the seeds of nationalism had grown to fruition in an age when the papacy was no longer supreme in the affairs of the European world." Papal exactions falling with peculiar force on England because of the non-payment of the customary taxes from the empire during the long struggle between the Holy See and Frederick II played a great part in the subsequent relations between England and the papacy. Provisions of English benefices to foreigners, granted both by the pope and the English kings, also irked the English people and clergy, so that when the subsequent quarrel did come, there was not the strong bond of filial affection toward the Holy See that had been there formerly; and so, while the preëminence of Rome in doctrinal matters was admitted, her part in religio-secular affairs in England was greatly limited.

The monetary exactions of the papacy in the thirteenth century were also partially "responsible for the pronounced anti-papal movement of the fourteenth, which resulted in much legislation being passed to stem the tide of papal aggression and abuse" (p. 79). Under Edward I the Statute of Mortmain was enacted, designed to stop land from falling into the hands of clerics. It was followed in 1351 by the aggressive Statute of Provisors, which was to prevent English benefices being filled by foreigners. In 1352 the Statute of Treasons was passed, and in the following year the strongest stroke at papal power in England, the Statute of Prae-

munire. Now it is true that these statutes were passed, but they were of little effect. It should be noted that they remained a dead letter on the statute book until picked up as a weapon by Henry VIII after he had determined to break with the Holy See. As Stubbs says: "They were evaded from the first. They were disregarded by the pope on the whole, and the king and parliament and bishops conspired to evade them. They were not a success in any way."

Mr. Ellis' book shows good scholarship; but it should be read with a knowledge of the freedom of the Catholic times of the Middle Ages, when kings and peoples might quarrel with the pope over temporalities and yet be most dutiful sons in spiritual matters. An anti-papal law, in the sense that Mr. Ellis uses the term, had nothing to do with matters of doctrine. Possibly this point should be stressed more in the book.

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Ramon Lull: a Biography. By E. ALLISON PEERS, M. A., sometime Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge, Gilmour Professor of Spanish in the University of Liverpool, Corresponding Member of the Hispanic Society of America. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York and Toronto: the Macmillan Co. 1929. Pp. xviii, 454.)

Raymond Lull was one of those later medieval laymen who, like Dante, sought to put to practical test, or to express in creative art, certain of the universal concepts and ideals of the great monastic teachers of the thirteenth century. The evangelism of Lull was an attempt to put into effect in the conversion of unbelievers the rational principles of scholastic method, which Lull elaborated into his *Ars Magna*, a scheme of argumentative demonstration which he believed to be incontrovertible. This exaggerated scholasticism, with its missionary application, had its counterpart in Dante's exaggerated imperialism of the *De Monarchia*, a conviction that there was only one institution divinely ordained to resolve the strife of Italian communes and check the ambitions of territorial kings. Conditions in the fourteenth century were as unfavorable to the political expectations of the Tuscan as they were discouraging to the life-long passion of the Catalan. Medieval mentality was passing from its Thomist phase of confidence in the fruitfulness of rational discussion, its confident approach to common ground with the non-Christian mind in the noblest speculations, ideals and institutions surviving from antiquity, to a Scotist phase in which the conviction of a preordained unity of Catholic society, and of a common, universal ground for discussion between Christian and non-Christian, was profoundly shaken. Emphasis was being shifted

from rational sanction to the arbitrary self-determination of the will. There is a tradition of a brief but sharp encounter between Duns Scotus and Raymond in 1306 which reflects the antagonism between the two mentalities (p. 323). It was three years after the humiliation of Boniface VIII at Anagni, an incident significant of the general change in medieval mental attitude.

Another circumstance, besides that deducible from the general thought-trend of the time, that is significant in relation to Lull's career, is the contrast between the medieval history of Spain, and the medieval history of Europe generally, outside the Iberian peninsula—a contrast between the experience of Iberian Christians with the Moors, and the experience of other Europeans with Moslems generally. Lull's father in 1232 was one of the early settlers in Majorca after the reconquest of Palma in the previous year. There were necessarily different experiences in social intercourse between Moslems and Christians in a region where medieval history was a long, gradual, and completely successful Crusade, than in the rest of the medieval world, where even before the end of the reign of St. Louis the Crusades were beginning to be regarded as a blocked and dubious enterprise.

Professor Peers's treatment of his subject involves considerable emphasis upon the Catalan background of Raymond Lull's early experience in forming and directing his thought and aims. He deprecates the charge of pedantry in connection with his rather close adherence to Catalan orthography (preface, p. ix). But whether or not he conveys a disproportionate impression of the distinctiveness and integral character of Catalan culture, there is pertinence in his keeping us in mind of the fact that there is a vital connection between Raymond Lull's optimism about the conversion of Moslems, and his personal experience with Moors in his native island Majorca. It is a great mistake to assume that bitterness and intransigeance are invariably and immediately the mood of a conquered people, or that cruelty and persecution necessarily follow a Catholic ascendancy of force. Religious conquests, like others, are not incompatible with natural human sympathetic contacts, nor with Christian mercy and charity.

Some of the incidents connected with the more critical moments of Lull's career have in them a fascinating suggestiveness of the status of medieval problems in his time. The beginning of his resolve to devote himself wholly to his cause is connected with his indecision about what to do with a Moorish slave whom he imprisoned for a personal assault upon him following chastisement, and who committed suicide while his master delayed his decision. Lull's resolve in 1291-1292 to become a Franciscan tertiary was the issue of an unusual spiritual crisis, in which, ill from remorse for having lost courage over a projected missionary

journey, he saw a vision in which he was promised certainty of salvation if he should become a Dominican tertiary. Reflecting, however, that the Franciscans were favorable to his *Ars Magna*, in spite of a warning voice reminding him of the salvation of his soul, he "elected rather to be damned himself than to cause the total loss of that Art whereby many might be saved". The incident is related in vivid detail in *Vida Coetánia*, the contemporary biography; and though regarded as improbable by certain Lullists, their criticism is regarded as based on *a priori* considerations by Llorenç Riber, by Rubió y Balaguer and by Professor Peers (notes, pp. 238, 239).

The account is supplied with full indices, one of them to the works of Lull himself; a bibliography in four sections of more than two hundred works, including a list of accessible editions of Lull's writings, and over a hundred critical works on Lull and the history of Lullian science. Study of the biography is aided by a chronological table. The notes are very full, requiring the use of many abbreviations in references to sources. Thorough acquaintance with Lullist literature is evident, as is mastery of sources and of Catalan-Provençal literature generally. In seeking biographical evidence or corroboration in Lull's writings, Professor Peers is conservative, without withholding passages which might seem to others more evidential than to himself. The surveys of Lull's writings, made with well-chosen and as a rule brief passages for illustration, with careful and clear accounts of the leading ideas, call attention to the qualities that make the thought and personality of Raymond Lull memorable. The immediate theme and its material occupies the biographer so fully that it is more or less incidentally that we see Lull in relation to the larger setting of his time, until the last chapter, which surveys the various phases of estimation in which the memory of the Majorcan has passed. Lull was, as Mr. Peers quotes, "a Loyola manqué", whose "great gift to posterity has been one of dynamic force", and the example of a rare union of the active with the contemplative life. His relative failure to rouse Europe to energize and re-inspire the Crusades under the motive power of missionary zeal was due to the fact that "idealism was waning fast and . . . constructive idealists in particular had almost disappeared"; that as Raymond's mature activities quickened, "the dead hand of the fourteenth century began to fall upon the Continent" (p. 413). Nothing could be better stated. But Raymond Lull, despite all his disappointments, was not a voice crying in a desert. There was a measure of generous response to his zeal, and consideration of his plans. Even the weaker types of pontiff, Nicholas IV and Clement V, were sincerely planning in view of the universal mission of the Church. Lull had apparently little or no part in the comparatively transitory incident of the opportunity for the faith that opened at the seat of the Mongol empire in Cambulac

or Peking. While the "dead hand" of disillusion, violence and satire was chilling Europe, from 1289 to 1368, John of Montecorvino and his successors were laboring in Peking, and before the Ming dynasty wiped out all traces of the Faith that had been tolerated by the Mongols, a whole generation of oriental Catholics had grown up under the shadow of the palace of the Khans. On a vast scale it seemed as though the history of the Faith reached, and passed, without realization, a moment of immense potentiality; but Kublai Khan was not Ethelbert of Kent or Clovis, the Mongols and Chinese were not Angles or Franks, Nicholas IV and Clement were not St. Gregory the Great or Zachary, even if John of Montecorvino might have been a St. Augustine of Canterbury, or Raymond Lull a "Loyola manqué".

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Continental Protestantism and the English Reformation. By FREDERICK J. SMITHEN, B.A. (Cantab). With a Foreword by Rev. P. Carnegie Simpson, D.D., Professor of Church History in Westminster College, Cambridge. (London: James Clarke and Co. 1929. Pp. 256, 6/—.)

The author has gathered into a small and handy volume a good deal of information on the influence of German and Swiss Protestants on the Reformation in England, and while the facts presented are, most of them at least, already sufficiently known, he has performed a real service in bringing them together and setting them forth in order. His purpose being purely historical, he never suffers the note of polemics or controversy to intrude; but this very dispassionateness and objectiveness will render his book all the more unpleasant reading for those who would like to forget that the Church of England is anything but a Protestant body. To cling to the notion of "Catholic continuity" is becoming more and more impossible as historical investigation reveals with ever-increasing clearness that whatever the English Reformers were, they were not Catholics and would have granted short shrift to the Anglo-Catholics of today. The Reformation in England is an excellent specimen of the English penchant for compromise, but to conclude from that that it succeeded in avoiding the opposite extremes of "Romanism" and Protestantism is not only to falsify history but to betray a misapprehension of the nature of truth. The *via media*, whether that of Queen Elizabeth or that of Doctor Pusey, is in reality merely a particular form of Protestantism; in the words of Newman: "[It] has adopted all the great Protestant doctrines, as its most strenuous upholder and the highest of Anglo-Catholics will be obliged to allow; the mutilated canon, the defective Rule of Faith, justification by faith only, putative righteousness, the

infection of nature in the regenerate, the denial of the five Sacraments, the relation of faith to the Sacramental presence, and the like; its aim being nothing else than to moderate, with Melanchthon, the extreme statements of Luther, to keep them from shocking the feelings of human nature, to protect them from the criticism of common sense, and from the pressure and urgency of controversial attack" (*Difficulties of Anglicans*, I, 377). In seeking to recover the elements of Catholicism their forefathers discarded while at the same time remaining Anglicans, in other words, by devising a new *via media* to replace the Elizabethan "Settlement", the Anglo-Catholics of today are merely introducing a new Protestant sect, the most Protestant of all sects, maybe the only genuinely Protestant sect surviving, since they carry the distinctive Protestant principle of private judgment further than any other Protestants have done and have given it a new lease of life.

EDWIN RYAN.

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Martin Luther: A Destiny. By LUCIEN LEFEBVRE, Professor at the University of Strassburg. Translated by Robert Tapley. (New York: E. P. Dutton Co. 1930. Pp. viii, 320. $3.75.)

The remote occasion for this book would appear, from the author's statement, to be the publication in 1904 of the first volume of Denifle's *Luther and Lutheranism*. Denifle's book, we are told, was a thunder-bolt that shook Lutheran Germany to its foundations. It presented an entirely new and very unwelcome conception of the development of Luther's ideas, *i. e.*, his religious development from 1505 to 1520, or from his entry into the Augustinian monastery at Erfort to his excommunication by the pope. Denifle's attack caused a tremendous outcry. It caught the Lutheran advocates entirely unawares and for a time they appeared disorganized and helpless but flaming with indignation. New material was sought out and old material was re-examined to repel the charges that had been brought against the character and the virtue of the national hero. Most of the publications of this *Sturm und Drang* epoch are considered by Lefebvre to be worthless, but out of the conflict there came so much new evidence for the study of Luther's early days and so many conflicting opinions, that the time was considered ripe for attempting a new exposition of the spiritual anabasis which converted the nerve racked monk of Wittenburg into the indomitable rebel who bayed the pope and bearded the emperor. Diagnoses of different kinds, physiological, psychological, and psychiatriac, had been proposed by various authorities to account for such a remarkable transformation, but all these, together with the ever-ready theories of the Freudians, Lefebvre rejects as worthless and unil-

luminating. He builds up a theory of his own. On the one side there was a church crumbling away under long-continued abuses, dominated by an immoral and unbelieving clergy, and so sunk in corruption as to have forgotten its mission to preach divine truth: on the other side there was a fear-ridden friar, obsessed with thoughts of sin and salvation, working out his difficult way to salvation by acquiring, through slow processes, a new doctrine of justification by faith. The incident which brought the introspective recluse to the aid of the suffering church was afforded by the shameful traffic in indulgences carried on by the Dominican Tetzel, as the agent of the pluralist Albrecht who needed money to pay his debts to the Jewish bankers, the Fuggers, who had advanced him the large sums needed to procure the Archbishopric of Mainz. Luther's indignation at the traffic took the form of a challenge to discuss the question of indulgences with any and all. This act of defiance made him a national figure, and his ninety-five theses, which had first appeared on the church-door in Wittenberg were soon read throughout the length and breadth of Germany. Without his own contriving he became the leader of all those who desired an end to papal privilege and aggressions and the removal of ecclesiastical corruption and irregularities. Thus was born the Reformation.

The theory is simple—so simple, in fact, as to be unconvincing. It has in it too much of the element of the Greek drama. It makes Luther appear as the predestined, but heroic, agent or instrument for the regeneration and salvation of Deutschthum, carried on to his fore-ordained goal by blind forces or fates. The author has given a very readable and alluring picture of the "blossoming" of the Luther mentality, but only by perpetrating just the fault which, he said, it was his purpose to avoid, *violent simplification*. An abnormal psychological condition such as Luther's during the time he was in the monastery does not admit of such rigidly logical growth and analysis, nor does the element of coincidence work out so smoothly in actual life.

Four-fifths of the work is devoted to Luther's career up to 1525. This was a fair division as the aim of the author was to depict Luther the Idealist. In fact he might have concluded his study with Luther's return to Wittenberg in 1522. All Luther's great revolutionary ideas had been expounded before then, and nothing is more remarkable in his career than the manner he persecuted those who followed them after that date. This the author admits, but he is hardly justified in saying: "Lutheran Germany, in centuries past, the Germany of the official theologians and pastors in the pay of the principalities, was able for years to ignore Luther almost completely and convey to the world that she had nothing in common, really nothing, with the magnificent idealism, the passionate feeling, the living faith of the unshackled Christian of 1520." If there is any part of the

work associated with Luther's name that is distinctly and properly the creation of his hands and brain, it is the state-church system of the German principalities, the Lutheran church of history. It is a weak explanation of his changed attitude to assert he "seldom wrote in anything but German after 1525." It was not Christendom that he was addressing, not even all Germany; it was Lutheran Saxony. He it was who had made Lutheran Saxony, and he was shackled by work of his own making. The picture the author draws of Luther in his declining years is not an alluring one and will not give pleasure to Luther's admirers. He was: "Just a man, a man growing heavier, fatter, more paunchy. Fatness invaded the lower part of his face. The ardent Augustinian with the flashing eyes, the Augustinian of the print of 1520 had faded into the past . . . To one who is accustomed to the refined faces of some prelates, living masterpieces of Catholic piety, with their thin lips, the veiled flicker of a perpetual fire in the depths of their clear eyes, the aggressive vulgarity of this gross Luther of fifty comes as a surprise."

The author has done an excellent piece of biography in the style of Lytton Strachey. No student of Luther and Lutheranism can afford to overlook it. It is regrettable that it is marred by so many typographical slips: misereri, explifies, Reliquienverechrung, etc. "Obtain plenary indulgence from the Portiuncula" is slightly confusing, as well as to be told the Turks seized Constantinople in 1517, and there is no good reason why the form *Anvers* should be used constantly.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

The Catholic University of America.

The Seventeenth Century. By G. N. CLARK, M. A. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1929. Pp. xii, 372.)

Mr. Clark deserves credit for having produced a very readable and instructive book. As the title suggests he takes a horizontal section of the great stream of European history, which he again subdivides into a score or so of more or less intermingling currents. His treatment of the subject is orderly and clear; and the book is a welcome addition to the historical literature on the period. But unfortunately—or perhaps fortunately—for this review, the reviewer has learned to look on the seventeenth century through more romantic spectacles. Regarding France as the center of European civilization and the artistic, literary and religious glories of the "grand siècle" as most worthy of attention, I find it hard to enter into the typically English mentality of Mr. Clark. The rather prosaic realities, which Mr. Clark so ably portrays, yield in importance as they most certainly do in interest, to the high-strung enthusiasm of the spiritual giants, who meet us in the pages of Bremond. The

thrilling story of heroism on the Canadian missions should not be slighted; nor should the intense religious feeling and generous élan of those who caught the spirit of St. Vincent de Paul. Granted that I am viewing the century from a chosen angle, the same can be said of Mr. Clark. The book claims to be, and it is, a cross-section of society and of civilization. It may have, barring a few flaws, almost photographic truth in its general lines; but the photograph is always incomplete and depends on the side from which it is taken.

According to the author there is "no room in the Church for thought"; Spinoza was the "only rigidly consistent thinker" in the century; the Jansenists were the "best people"; the "casuistry of the Jesuits" found a way out of difficulties; Sobieski was a "villain and a traitor"; Cromwell was "generous". We wish he had not left a few phrases open to double meanings. There were "apparent miracles" in the Old Testament; there is a "supposed historical foundation for the Papacy"; "codes of morality are relative". These are some of the objectionable, perhaps the most objectionable, slips in the book. They need dissuade no one from reading the book nor from recommending it to others. The cautious, well-poised, attitude of the author, his evident determination to avoid exaggeration even at the price of making his picture less colorful and the effort he makes to portray the century exactly as he sees it give him a right to be heard. I did not enjoy the actual reading of the book, but I am glad I read it. For one who may agree with Mr. Clark, it is an excellent synthesis of the main activities of the century; for those, whose viewpoint is different, it will be at least very suggestive and may serve as a corrective or as a complement to incomplete knowledge of the seventeenth century.

R. Corrigan, S. J.

University of Detroit.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The usual account of the eleventh annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, held at the Copley Plaza Hotel, Boston, December 29-31, will be given in the April number of this REVIEW. The programme of the American Historical Association, which met at the same time and place, was one of unusual interest and merit. There was a session devoted to the general subject of Organized Religion in American Life, at which Professor G. H. Barnes read a paper on Sources of the Anti-Slavery Movement in the Great Revival; Professor L. G. Vander Velde one on the Presbyterian Church and the Crisis of 1861; Professor T. M. Whitfield one on Southern Methodism and Slavery; and Professor H. U. Faulkner one on Some Tendencies in American Christianity since 1900. In a joint session held with the American Society of Church History, Professor Hastings Eells presented a paper on Bucer; Professor Albert Hyma raised the question as to Protestant Revolt or Reformation; and Professor G. W. Richards discussed Harnack as a Church Historian. The Corpus of Medieval Scientific Writings was the subject of Professor Lynn Thorndike's paper delivered at a session devoted to Medieval Science. More than the usual number of papers were aimed at the interest of the teacher. There was a session on the Problems of the Young Scholar, another on Opportunities for more Effective Research in Colleges, and a third on the Social Studies—all marked by formal papers and informal discussion. Again the editors of historical reviews met at a luncheon conference from which the representatives of this REVIEW returned to their tasks greatly heartened by the fine sympathy displayed and aided by many helpful suggestions put forward.

Catholic historical scholarship has lost one of its outstanding personalities in the death of Archbishop Austin Dowling of St. Paul, Minnesota. As a young priest he was active in founding the New England Catholic Historical Society, and his ability as a true historian is easily seen in the section on the *History of the Diocese of Providence* which he contributed to the *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States* (vol. I, pp. 361-465, Boston, 1899). His sermons, as Bishop of Des Moines and as Archbishop of St. Paul, were mainly of an historical character. Archbishop Dowling was one of the first of our American prelates to welcome the creation of this REVIEW, as he was also one of the first life members of the American Catholic Historical Association.

The plan to revise the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1905-1914) was deemed of sufficient importance by the Catholic hierarchy to issue, at the annual meeting held at Washington, November 12, 1930, a resolution of approval

and commendation. Practically a new work is promised by the editors: every article will be recast or rewritten; there will be about 3000 new articles; the plates will be entirely new; and the maps will be brought down to date. Including the index there will be fifteen volumes; promoters' sets are offered at $100, $250, $500, and $1000.

Les Livres de la Liturgie Latine, by the Right Rev. Dom F. Cabrol, abbé of Farnborough, described as the history of the Latin liturgy from its beginning to the present, is included in the *Bibliothèque Catholique des Sciences Religieuses* (Paris, Bloud et Gay).

Professor G. G. Coulton's radio talks on medieval life, with some supplementary matter, have been published by the Cambridge University Press under the title, *The Medieval Scene: an Informal Introduction to the Middle Ages* (pp. 163, 5 *s.*).

The international circles of Catholic scholarship have suffered a distinct loss in the death recently of Father Leopold Fonck, S. J., founder and first president of the Biblical Institute of Rome. Father Fonck was born in 1865, and after completing his theological courses at the Gregorian University in 1890, consecrated the next ten years at the Universities of Beyrout, Berlin, and Munich to Scriptural studies. From 1908 to 1918, he was at the head of the Biblical Institute. Among his many publications is one popular with students of history, his *Wissenschaftliches Arbeiten, Beitraege zur Methodik des akademischen Studiums* (Innsbrueck, 1908), which has been translated into several languages, *Le Travail Scientifique* (Paris, 1911) being best known.

Serious reviews of Dr. Alexander C. Flick's *Decline of the Medieval Church* (2 vols., Kegan Paul) point out numerous misprints, misquotations, careless footnotes, lack of background, and the absence of critical method.

The October number of *Speculum* is rich in scholarly contributions. H. S. Lucas writes on the Great European Famine of 1315, 1316, and 1317; the Many-Sided Career of Master Elias of Dereham, royal clerk and rector of Meauton, an attendant at King John's last court, and canon of Salisbury, is discussed by J. C. Russell; and Emma G. Salter evaluates the Sources for the Biography of St. Francis of Assisi.

Critical history has sustained a great loss by the death of Father Bernhard Duhr, S. J., who was called to his reward on September 21, 1930. Born of a distinguished family in Cologne that traces its descent back to the Count of Montserrat who left France during the Huguenot wars, Bernhard Duhr entered the Society of Jesus, at the age of twenty. It was the year of Bismarck's laws suppressing the houses of the Society. Consequently his studies and early activities were outside of Germany, in Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, and England. He contributed many

articles of great value to the *Stimmen*, but he will best be remembered by his monumental *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*, a work that covers every aspect of Jesuit history in the German-speaking countries. The first volume, which deals with the sixteenth century, appeared in 1907. The last volume, published in 1928, brings the history down to the suppression. It is a work based on myriads of manuscripts and thousands of printed sources, and is marked by rigorous impartiality, a keen sense of historical perspective, and a sober grace of style. There are footnotes and further references on almost every one of the 4400 pages of this immensely erudite and keenly critical work.

The *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* for November lists these notes concerning the location of manuscripts: A fifteenth-century narrative of the founding of the Cistercian order was offered for sale by Messrs. Sotheby, London, December 19, 1929, together with a fifteenth-century list of churches and monasteries joined to the abbey of Cluny, and a chronicle of the order down to 1480; a signed letter of Gregory XIII, written three months before his death, is in the possession of Dr. Erik Waller, Lidköping, Sweden; a large collection of letters from rectors, etc., to the Bishop of London in 1780, giving names and numbers of Roman Catholics resident in their parishes, and a life of St. Francis Xavier giving an account of his missions to Japan, written about 1560, were recently offered for sale by Bernard Halliday of Leicester. Supplement No. 1 of the *Bulletin* is a *Guide to the Historical Publications of the Societies of England and Wales*, compiled by Guy and Zirphie Parsloe.

Bishop Shahan's article, "St. Augustine of Hippo: His *Confessions* and his *City of God*" in the new *Morgana Quarterly*, vol. I, pp. 27-39, rounds out a series of excellent studies which he has contributed during the past year to the *Catholic World* and the *Missionary* for the fifteenth centenary of the death of St. Augustine.

From Justinian to Luther, A. D. 518-1517, by Dr. Leighton Pullan (Oxford, Clarendon Press, pp. 256), is a favorably-mentioned collection of medieval studies.

P. Pisani's recent work has been translated for the Catholic Library of Religious Knowledge by Mother Mary Reginald, O. P., as *The Congregations of Priests from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (London, Sands, pp. 195).

The Reformation, Catholicism and Freedom is the not altogether happy title of J. W. Poynter's study of martyrs (Macmillan).

The fourth volume in the Many Mansions Series is a brief account of the *Franciscans* (112 pp.), by James O'Mahoney, O. S. F. C. (London, Sheed and Ward).

Rev. Stephen J. Brown, S. J., has just published *An Index of Catholic Biographies* (Dublin, 18 Hawkins Street, 1930, pp. 142, $1.25), in which hardly any biography of merit by a Catholic American author is missing.

The part played by the Holy See in the rescinding of the Edict of Nantes is told by Dr. Louis O'Brien in *Innocent XI and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* (Berkeley, Calif., pp. 231).

The Thundering Abbot: Armand de Rancé, Reformer of La Trappe, by Henri Bremond, has been translated by F. J. Sheed and published by Sheed and Ward (320 pp.). *St. Teresa in Her Writings*, by Rudolph Hoornaert, translated by Father Leonard, C. M., is another publication of the same firm (380 pp.).

Among the announcements of Les Presses Universitaires de France are: *L'ancienne Université de Paris*, by J. Donnerot; and *Le rôle international de la papauté au moyen âge*, by A. Fliche.

Louis Saluden has written *Biographie du vénéré et discret prélat, Mgr. François Aimé Roull, protonotaire apostolique, curé-archiprêtre de la paroisse de Saint-Louis de Brest* (Presse Libérale, Brest, pp. 119).

Marcel Giard, Paris, announces *La Politique du Vatican et la France*, by Albert Letellier.

A new biography of *Guillaume Farel, 1489-1565*, written from original documents by a group of Swiss, French, and Italian professors, is published by Delachaux and Niestle, Paris.

Messrs. Jonathan Cape have published a memoir of J. E. C. Bodley, prepared by Mr. Shane Leslie. Included are notes of Mr. Bodley's unfinished work on the French Church.

The Commission Royale d'Histoire of the Académie Royal de Belgique has published the second volume of *Recueil des Chartes de l'Abbaye de Stavelot-Malmedy*, edited by Professor Joseph Halkin of the University of Liége and C. G. Roland, canon of the Cathedral of Namur (Brussels, Maurice Lamertin, pp. 800).

Band I of Franz Schnabel's *Deutschlands Geschichtliche Quellen und Darstellungen in der Neuzeit* has the sub-title, *Das Zeitalter der Reformation* (Leipzig and Berlin, B. G. Teubner).

Der Protestantismus in Steiermark im Zeitalter der Reformation und Gegenreformation, by Paul Dedic, is No. 149 of *Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte* (Leipzig, Heinsius, pp. 174).

Volume V of *Propyläen-Weltgeschichte* is *Das Zeitalter der religiösen Umwälzung, Reformation und Gegenreformation, 1500-1660*, by Walter

Goetz, Paul Joachimsen, Erich Mareks, Wilhelm Mommsen, and Hans Schaeder (Berlin, Propyläen-Verlag, pp. 633).

Volumes VII and VIII of *Schriften zur deutschen Literatur* are the two volumes of *Das Jesuitendrama in den Ländern deutscher Zunge vom Anfang (1555) bis zum Hochbarock (1665)*, by Johannes Müller (Augsburg, Filser).

Der Dominikaner Felician Ninguarda und die Gegenreformation in Süddeutschland und Österreich, 1560-1581, by Karl Schellhass, the first volume of which has appeared, is volume XVII of the *Bibliothek des preussischen historischen Instituts in Rom* (Leipzig, Fleischer, pp. 355).

Among the varied contents of the October number of the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* is a masterly analysis of the work of Adolph von Harnack—*La Carrière scientifique de Harnack* (pp. 962-991), by Father J. De Ghellinck, of the Jesuit College at Louvain. Since Harnack's death (June 10, 1930), no estimate of this greatest of contemporary Protestant savants approaches that of Father De Ghellinck for its profound appraisal of Harnack's theological and historical studies. The imposing total of these studies reaches the mark of 1500, only Mommsen and Delisle, in modern times, surpassed him. Between 1873, when he published his first historico-theological contribution, and May 2, 1930, when his last essay was penned, Harnack proved himself to be one of the intellectual giants of our day. It is too soon to select the works by which Harnack will be known to posterity, but Father De Ghellinck shrewdly points out the canons for such a future judgment.

The *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* for October has as its main studies: "Verfasser und Quellen der *Collectio de Scandalis Ecclesiae:* Reformschrift des Fr. Gilbert von Tournay, O. F. M. zum II Konzil von Lyon, 1274", by Autbert Stroick, O. F. M.; and "De Fratribus Minoribus in universitate Coloniensi tempore medii aevi", by V. Lampen, O. F. M. The document section concludes "La reforma Osservante dei Monasteri delle Clarisse nell' Italia centrale", contributed by Antonio Fantozzi, O. F. M. There is also a bibliography entitled, "Litteratura hungarica occasione VII Centenarii a transitu S. Francisci (1226-1926) publicata".

The *Analecta Bollandiana* (T. xlviii, fasc. iii, iv) contains some articles of the highest value. In "L'Histoire lausiaque et les Vies grecques de S. Pachôme", Père Halkin takes up once more the debated question of the authorship of passages concerning Pachomius in Palladius' History. According to the hypotheses of scholars like Bousset and Reitzenstein (which were accepted in part even by Dom Butler in his valuable *Lausiac History of Palladius*) Palladius was a plagiarist. After a most careful working over of all the evidence Père Halkin decides that the plagiarism was not

in Palladius but in the so-called "sources" which are in reality "des extraits plus ou moins fidèles de l'Histoire Lausiaque". The next two articles discuss an ancient "passio" of St. Basil of Epiphania, and a life of St. Front of Perigueux. Père Paul Grosjean, who is the Bollandist authority on Gaelic sources, discusses the new *Analecta Hibernica*. More than eighty books dealing with hagiography are critically reviewed.

Lettere inedite dei cardinali de Richelieu, de Joyeuse, Bentivoglio, Baronio, Bellarmino, Maurizio di Savoia ed altri e due lettere autografe di Torquato Tasso dirette ai cardinali Ludovico e Cosimo de Torres coi facsimili degli autografi is the lengthy but descriptive title of the collection compiled by A. Dragonetti de Torres (Aquila, Vecchioni).

Volume III of *Regesti di bandi, editti, notificazioni e provvedimenti diversi relativi alla città di Roma e allo Stato Pontificio,* for the years 1605-1623, has been published, with a preface by G. Q. Gigliolo (Rome, Cuggiani, pp. 276).

The report on the *Catholic Church and Religious Persecution in Soviet Russia,* by the Rev. Dr. Edmund A. Walsh, S. J., prepared for the International Congress of Catholic Journalists, held at Brussels, September 1-2, 1930, has been distributed by the Catholic Near East Welfare Association (pp. 28). The appendices offer certain objections and replies thereto, suggestions for further study, and a bibliography.

Two recent works on missionary effort in China are the *Four Churches of Peking,* by the Rev. W. Devine, S. J., which tells the story from Ricci to our own time (Burns, Oates and Washbourne); and *Christians in China before the Year 1550,* by A. C. Moule (S. P. C. K.).

"Today in Onitsha [in British Nigeria, West Africa] most of the inhabitants flock to the fold of the Roman Catholics," writes Ben N. Azikiwe, contributing some Fragments of Onitsha History to the *Journal of Negro History* for October. Commenting on the missionary labors among the natives, the author says: "The Roman Catholics also have schools for higher learning. . . . Their Teachers' Training College at Igbariam remains an everlasting tribute to their assiduity in the missionary work."

Jahangir and the Jesuits, edited by C. H. Payne from the *Relations* of Fernao Guerreiro, S. J., has been added to the Argonaut Series (New York, McBride).

The Story of England's Churches, by the Rev. W. Escott Bloss, is described as "a brief historical survey of the growth and development of the ancient churches in England" (London, A. R. Mowbray and Co.).

Under the supervision of Dr. Summerfield Baldwin and with the coöperation of the history department, the Catholic Evidence Guild of Seton Hill

College, Greensburg, Pa., plans an inquiry into the first eight volumes of the *Cambridge Modern History*, with a view to correcting any overstatements made regarding the Catholic position. This commendable work suggests the need of Catholic corrigenda for many other worthy reference books now in use.

Volume V of the late Professor T. F. Tout's *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England* has been published by the University of Manchester Press (pp. 440).

The latest addition to the Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought is a *History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages*, by Dr. R. A. R. Hartridge, which is an attempt to describe the system "which transferred so large a proportion of the parochial endowments to non-parochial purposes, and which added so much to the economic significance of the dissolution of the monasteries" (Cambridge University Press, pp. 273, 15 *s.*).

An Introduction to the Obedientiary and Manor Rolls of Norwich Cathedral Priory, by Dr. H. W. Saunders (London, Jarrolds, pp. 213), is valuable as a study of mediaeval economics as gleaned from manorial receipts and expenditures.

Late pamphlets issued by the Catholic Truth Society, London, are: *In the Light of Lourdes*, by Aileen M. Clegg; *St. Bartholomew's Priory Church*, by Rt. Rev. Abbot Smith; *Divided Christendom, 1429-1929*, by a Sister of Notre Dame; *An Era of Martyrs*, by Mother Keppel of the Society of the Sacred Heart; *Mary, Queen of Scots*, by the Hon. Mrs. Maxwell- Scott; and *The English Pope, Adrian IV*, by G. R. Snell. Issues of the Dublin branch include: *Christian Architecture*, by James Moffat; *De La Salle Brothers*, by Rev. Brother Bernardine, F. S. C.; and *St. Gerard Majella, C. SS. R.*, by Rev. John Carr, C. SS. R.

From the Oxford University Press comes *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*, the letter-book of James Haldenstone, transcribed and edited, with an appendix of documents illustrating Scottish history, 1378-1450, by Dr. James H. Baxter (pp. 527). Besides portraying the administrative duties of the prior of St. Andrew's, the book has a wider interest in the picture it gives of Scottish relations with the General Council and the Curia.

The first number of the *Clergy Review*, appearing under the patronage of Cardinal Bourne and Cardinal MacRory and sponsored by the *Universe*, London, was issued January 1. The new review is to appear monthly; it proposes to cover the theological and philosophical interests of the clergy without neglecting historical, social, and economic questions. More than forty scholars in Great Britain, Ireland, the United States, and several European countries are associated as contributors.

Studies for September, 1930, contained three articles of interest to American readers: Bellarmine and the American Constitution, by Father Moorhouse F. X. Millar, S. J., Irish Colonization in the United States, by Rev. Dr. John O'Grady, and Stephen Moylan in the American Revolution, by Frank Monaghan. Some Memories of Canon Sheehan by Mrs. William O'Brien reminds us that his biography was written by his old friend, Rev. Dr. Herman Heuser, of Overbrook Seminary, who was in large measure responsible for the publication of *My New Curate* and *Luke Delmage.*

Three articles of historical interest are to be found in the October issue of the *Dublin Review*: a study of Augustianism in the Thirteenth Century, by Leslie Walker, S. J.; an account of a Forgotten Dominican Convent (Oetenbach, Zürich), by Claire Kirchberger; and an appraisal of the life of Blessed Oliver Plunket, 1629-1681, by O. M. Twigg.

Dean Harris has written a volume on *Pioneers of the Cross in Canada* (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, pp. 240).

Settlements and Churches in Nova Scotia, 1749-1776, by Ian F. Mackinnon, comes from the Walker Press (Montreal, pp. 111).

The Librairie Saint-François, Montreal, has published *Une âme de prêtre: l'abbé Louis-Ernest Duchaine, curé de Frenchville, Sask.*

Mgr. Taché et la naissance du Manitoba, by Donatien Frémont, gives a short account of Taché's part in the history of the Northwest, especially in restoring order during the Red River rebellion of 1869 (Winnipeg, La Liberté, pp. 47).

Cecil Jane's *Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, being the journals of his first and third, and the letters concerning his first and last voyages, to which is added the account of his second voyage written by Andres Bernaldez, newly translated and annotated, has been published by the Argonaut Press (London, pp. 347).

Donjon of Demons: a Hero's Tale from the "Jesuit Relations" (pp. 306), by Benedict Fitzpatrick, is published by Henry Holt and Company.

Sands and Company, London, have issued *White Horsemen: the Story of the Jesuit Martyrs of North America*, by Mrs. Thomas Concannon (pp. 125).

The influence of the "dissenting tradition" on the American mind, and not Puritanism, is emphasized as the main factor in our national culture by Professor Thomas C. Hall in his study of the *Religious Background of American Culture* (Little, Brown and Co., $3.00).

The first contribution to the American Religion Series of Studies in Religion and Culture (Henry Holt and Company), is *The Puritan Mind*, by Professor Herbert W. Schneider, Columbia University (pp. 301).

Harper and Brothers announce *The Story of Religions in America*, by Professor William W. Sweet, which is described as "a complete history of the origin and growth of organized religion on the North American continent", with particular reference to the European background and the study of the relation between religious forces and the political, economic, and social factors at work.

Recent accessions of the Minnesota Historical Society include transcripts of thirteen letters of Father Francis Pierz relating to his missionary and immigration activities in the Northwest. Copies of these letters, which were first published, 1854-1865, in the German Catholic weekly, *Wahrheits-Freund*, were secured from St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee. Mrs. H. B. Sweetser, Minneapolis, has presented to the Society her manuscript sketch of St. Stephen's parish of that city.

The Florida State Historical Society has just published the second volume of Mrs. Jeannette Thurber Connor's *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida*. The work of completing this volume, about half of which was finished by Mrs. Connor before her death, was done by Dr. James A. Robertson, the energetic secretary of the Society. This brings the story of Florida from 1577 to 1580. The volume contains an unusual amount of material which will be found useful for the economic construction of early Florida, especially information relating to the *situado* or subsidy which was paid to Florida by the government of New Spain in order that the colony might function. There is also something relating to the Indians and the work of the missionaries. However, during this period the Indians were largely in revolt and the missions had not been strongly fixed. Dr. Irving A. Leonard, University of California, at present Guggenheim fellow studying the social history of the Spanish colonies, will translate and edit for the Society a volume of documents, many of which are new discoveries, centering about the surveys of the Pensacola region made by Carlos Sigüenza y Góngora, the great Spanish-American scientist and savant. Mr. Whitaker's book on the Trade Policy of Spain will be sent to the press by the Society early this year. Rev. Edgar Pennington, Ocala, Fla., has also compiled for the Society a documentary history of the English Church in Florida during the British regime, 1763-1783.

The *Report of the Twelfth Annual Meeting* of the Franciscan Educational Conference prints the papers and discussions of the 1930 meeting which was concerned with the teaching of philosophy. A paper on the Teaching of the History of Philosophy was read by Fr. Claude Mindorff, O. F. M. The report of the annual publications of the friars of the conference includes many titles in the fields of history.

The *Records* of the American Catholic Society of Philadelphia for June begins a history of the Redemptorists in America, contains Clarence E.

Martin's fine paper read at the 1929 meeting of the Catholic Historical Association, on the Legal Aspect of the English Penal Laws; and continues the Note Book of the Venerable Bishop John Nepomucene Neumann, C. SS. R.

Volume XXIII, no. 2 (July, 1930), of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* contains an article on the First British Bishop of Quebec (Briand) and the Catholics of Kaskaskia, by the Hon. William R. Riddell; and the Civil War Letters of Brig.-Gen. William Ward Orme, 1862-1866, who was born in Washington, D. C., and educated at Mt. St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, Md.

Continuations of the Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos, New Mexico, by Adolph F. Bandelier, and of the Supply Service of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century, 1663-1680, by France V. Scholes, are to be found in the October number of the *New Mexico Historical Review.*

Belated mention is made of *Misiones de Nuevo Méjico,* documents published from the Archivo General de Indias by Otto Maas (Madrid, Hijos de T. Minuesa se los Ríos, 1929, pp. 272). This material first appeared serially in *Archivo Ibero-Americano,* 1923-1924.

Two articles on the late Archbishop Messmer feature the October number of the *Salesianum*: Bishop Chartrand eulogizes him as the Bishop of Souls, and the Very Rev. Francis E. Murphy writes of him as the Bishop of Charity. In the same issue Rev. Dr. Peter L. Johnson carries his History of St. Francis Seminary through the Civil War period, and also contributes further Letters of Bishop Henni.

In the October issue of *Mid-America* there is an account of Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, O. F. M., the First Martyr in Illinois, by Marion A. Habig; a study of the Early Theatre in the Spanish Borderlands, by Winifred Johnston; and an article on Fray Juan Padilla, Proto-Martyr of the United States and Texas, by Dr. Paul J. Foik. The documents, contributed by Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., relate to Father De Smet's Sioux Peace Mission of 1868, and the Journal of Charles Galpin.

The historical articles in *Thought* for December concern the Attainder on Dame Elizabeth Barton, O. S. B., by Enid Dinnis; the Political Philosophy of Edmund Burke, by J. A. McGann; and the Catholic Revival in France, 1830-1850, by R. J. Gray. Russia Denies Her Faith, is the title of a study by J. H. Ledit, S. J.

The November issue of the *Iowa Catholic Historical Review* gives an account of the Church in Carroll County, by Rev. James B. Greteman; information concerning the First Native Iowans of the Priesthood, by Rev.

M. M. Hoffmann; and an enumeration of some Sources in Early Iowa Catholic Church History, by W. G. Kessler.

Professor Mary W. Williams, Goucher College, has written a history of the *People and Politics of Latin America* (Ginn and Co.), chapter VII of which is devoted to the Church in the Spanish Indies.

The Duke University Press has issued Professor Charles S. Braden's *Religious Aspects of the Conquest of Mexico* (pp. 344, $3.50).

Tomo I of *Bibliografia Biografica Mexicana*, issued under the editorship of Juan B. Iguiniz, contains 703 items and an index.

Miss Mary Watters, a graduate student at the University of North Carolina, has gone to Venezuela to study the history of the Church during the period of the independence of that country.

Besides an unusually rich and varied section devoted to bibliography and a continuation of an inventory of the Archivo General de la Nación, República Argentina, the *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*, July–September, contains several articles of interest: "La traslación de Salades en 1749: contribución al estudio del pasado colonial de Corrientes", by Paul de Labougle; "Somero estudio sobre los proyectos del Nuevo Codigo de las Leyes de Indias", by Antonio Muro Orejon; "Fray Francisco de Vitoria y el derecho a la conquista de America", by Ruben Bargas Ugarte, S. J.; and "Ensayo sobre las artes en la Argentina durante la época colonial", by José Torre Revello.

BRIEF NOTICES

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, *Proceedings.* Vol. 39, n. s., Part 2. (Worcester, Mass., the Society, 1930, pp. 227-473.)

In addition to the usual minutes of proceedings, reports, and obituaries, the contents include some Additional Notes on Ratcliff and Ranger Bindings, by Thomas J. Holmes, to which is appended a description of five bindings at Hartford, contributed by William G. Land; New Documents relating to the Popham Expedition, 1607, presented by Charles E. Banks; an account of the Early Forms of Worship in North America, a chapter of which describes fairly accurately the Mass; and a photographic reproduction of the Journal of an African Slaver, 1789-1792 (the schooner *Swallow*), with an introductory note by George A. Plimpton.

BARDY, ABBÉ G., *The Christian Latin Literature of the First Six Centuries.* (St. Louis, B. Herder Book Co., 1930, pp. 222.)

A brief and capable study, companion to the author's *Greek Literature in the Early Christian Church.* It treats succinctly of the Latin authors from Tertullian and Minucius Severus to Gregory the Great and Isidore of Seville. A splendid introduction to the Latin Fathers. The French edition was reviewed in this journal (October, 1930).

BEARD, CHARLES A. and MARY R., *The Rise of American Civilization.* (New York, Macmillan Co., 1930, 2 volumes in 1, pp. 824, 866, $4.00.)

A new one-volume edition of the authors' deftly written and capable socio-politico-economic history of the United States designed especially for college students who will find it as interesting as it is informative. It contains a useful and moderately lengthy bibliography and an index.

BIRNIE, ARTHUR, *An Economic History of Europe, 1760-1930.* (New York, Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press, 1930, pp. ix, 289.)

The author of this book begins his preface with a statement of his object: "to describe and emphasize the outstanding features in the economic development of Europe during the last one hundred and fifty years". Briefly, it is the history of the rise and expansion of industrialism, and the socio-economic effects it had upon the four leading industrial European nations: England, France, Germany and Belgium. To discuss such subjects as the revolution in industry, agriculture, commerce, etc., as well as Socialism, the various labor and co-operative movements necessitates compression, and at times very sketchy treatment is accorded certain important factors. The rôle England played during this period is given too much prominence, perhaps, in relation to the achievements of the other nations; but on the whole, the book will prove satisfactory for those who wish to make a cursory survey of the period. A selected reading list is appended. (WALTER SADLIER, O. P.)

BOURGOIN, REV. RAYMOND B., A.M., *The Catholic Church in Sandwich.* (Sandwich, Mass., privately printed, 1930, pp. 78.)

An excellent model of a town-parochial history, written in commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the Catholic Church in Sandwich, Mass. Its clearly written chapters, the first of which is devoted to Miles Standish and the Acadians, and the last, to the parish's record in the World War, present a pleasing picture of the founding of the Faith in this first town on Cape Cod (incorporated in 1639) and of the progress of the Church in the oldest parish of the Fall River Diocese.

BUSHNELL, NELSON SHERWIN, *Historical Background of English Literature.* (New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1930, pp. ix, 360, $2.00.)

A political history of England in which references are made to the better known literary works illustrative of the period under review. No great amount of research is apparent either in the field of literature or of history which latter is written in a thoroughly old-fashioned Protestant style but the volume may be of some use to high school students.

BYRNE, EUGENE H., Professor of History, University of Wisconsin, *Genoese Shipping in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.* Monographs of the Mediaeval Academy of America, No. 1. (Cambridge, Mass., the Academy, 1930, pp. ix, 159, $2.75, $2.20 to members.)

This brief study is based upon the notary records in the archives of Genoa. The chapters are devoted to the types of vessels, size and capacity, ownership, cost and value of ships, construction, contracts, ship's scribes, privateers, and late thirteenth-century developments. There are over ninety pages of Latin documents in which the notaries' acts are edited and printed with unusual attention to exactness and detail.

CHAPMAN, REV. MICHAEL A., *Open My Heart.* (Milwaukee, Bruce Publishing Co., 1930, pp. 246, $2.00.)

The editor of the *Acolyte* here gives a delightful account of his trip through Italy. The title is taken from Browning, "Open my heart and you will see, Graved inside of it 'Italy!'". The book is exceptional in that the author steps off the beaten track; he "pokes around in corners, walks down alleys", and finds out many unnoticed things of interest in places usually not frequented by tourists. There are many historical references, which the author "has endeavored to verify". The twenty-three photographic illustrations include a number of unusual views.

CLARK, C. P. S., *Short History of the Christian Church.* (New York, Longmans Green and Co., 1929, pp. 532, $4.00.)

An interestingly written volume by an Anglican clergyman. The first sections dealing with the pre-Reformation period are by no means anti-Catholic in spite of certain omissions, but from the Reformation on distorted and inadequate statements are not infrequent, *e. g.*, the quotation from Canon Sparrow Simpson on the Biblical Commission (p. 484) and the ambiguous statement that "Cardinal Vaughan left no stone unturned to procure an unfavorable decision" (*re* Anglican orders, p. 498). The chapter on Modern

Missions contains three lines on "Roman Missions". There is a remarkable (?) chapter on "The Church of Ireland (Protestant) after the Reformation". Yet Catholics will find it useful as a source of information on the rise and development of many non-Catholic sects.

CONRAN, REV. EDWARD J., J.C.D., *The Interdict.* (Washington, D. C., The Catholic University of America, Canon Law Studies, No. 56, 1930, pp. 157.)

The purpose of this doctoral dissertation is to treat briefly the nature, historical evolution, and effects of the interdict. An excellent study, easily the best we have in English, though the history of interdicts in the United States is scantily treated.

CONROY, REV. JOSEPH P., S.J., *Arnold Damen, S.J., A Chapter in the Making of Chicago.* (New York, Benziger Bros., 1930, pp. 329, $2.25.)

Newspaper reports of Chicago give such noisome impressions of the city that it is refreshing to see another side of its youthful days. Father Conroy has done this in the life of Father Damen, S.J., founder not only of a thriving parish but of a great portion of the city. He has done it in the same popular style which has given such wide circulation to his previous works. It ought to help spread the fame of the pioneer missionary and founder of a parish and a college. We need more biographies of the pioneers. There are some generalizations in the book that are not altogether correct, as when the author applies to all Catholics thoughts about the schools, which are not accepted by all groups. (T. ROEMER, O.M.Cap.)

CORRIGAN, REV. BROTHER URBAN, *Catholic Education in New South Wales.* (Sydney, Angus and Robertson, Ltd., 1930, pp. xiii, 151.)

Now for the first time is presented an authoritative historical sketch of Catholic education in Australia. Though not more than an outline, it should prove invaluable for its abundant indications of source material—much of which has been hitherto unpublished. Students of Catholic education in our own land will welcome this volume, depicting as it does the struggle for educational emancipation under conditions closely resembling those in the United States.

DEDIEU, J., *L'Instabilité du Protestantisme.* (Paris, Bloud et Gay, 1928, pp. 195.)

One of the ever-increasing series of volumes issued by this prominent firm of Catholic publishers under the general title *Bibliothèque Catholique des Sciences Religieuses*, some of which have been translated into English. "The history of Protestantism", writes Dedieu, "is one of those immense fields in which scientific curiosity will not, for a very long time, exhaust the richness of the subject." Starting with the origins of the Revolt, Dedieu traces the variations in the doctrinal progress of Lutheranism and Calvinism up to the present tendencies of religious individualism, and closes his compact little study with a shrewd analysis of the conference at Lausanne. The thesis in the book is developed from two angles—the principle of Protestantism: *mobility*, the law of Protestantism: *instability*. There is a good chapter on the Protestant missionary activities throughout the world.

Durandi de S. Porciano Tractatus de habitibus. Quaestio quarta [de subiectis habituum]. Addita Quaestione critica Anonymi cuiusdam ad fidem codicum manuscriptorum edidit JOSEPHUS KOCH. [Opuscula et textus historiam ecclesiae eiusque vitam atque doctrinam illustrantia. Series scholastica, edita curantibus M. Grabmann et Fr. Pelster, S.J. Fasc. VIII.] (Monasterii, 1930. Typis Aschendorff, 80 p. M. 1,50.)

A critical edition of *Tractatus de habitibus* of Durandus of Saint-Pourçain (1332), the *doctor resolutissimus* of scholasticism's decline.

FOSTER, H. D., *Collected Papers of Herbert D. Foster.* (Privately Printed, Hanover, N. H., 1929, pp. xv, 249.)

This volume consists of a number of papers published by the late Professor Foster during the closing years of his life. With the exception of the two papers, Webster's Seventh of March Speech and the Secession Movement, 1850, and Webster and Choate in College, the work is composed of a well selected group of essays under the following titles: Geneva before Calvin; Liberal Calvinism: International Calvinism through Locke and the Revolution of 1688, and similar subjects. The author betrays an ignorance of the principles of the Schoolmen from whom Calvin took many of his ideas of government. The work has copious footnotes but lacks both a general bibliography and an index.

FRANC-NOHAIN, *Life's an Art.* (New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1930, pp. 254, $2.00.)

Franc-Nohain is the name under which Maurice Legrand is known to the literary and musical world. According to the publisher's statement, 74,000 copies of this book were sold in France within four months after publication. The title is taken from the first of fifteen charming essays which treat of many things outside the field of history.

GREEN, HARRY J., Ph.D., *A Study of the Legislature of the State of Maryland, with Special Reference to the Sessions of 1927 and 1929.* Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science: Series XLVIII, No. 3. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1930, pp. vi, 110.)

The author's purpose is "to detail with completeness the factors which in any manner affect the enactment of laws in the State of Maryland" and "to lay a basis for future generalization and theories relative to the legislative branch of state government." The work is the result of personal study of the sessions of 1927 and 1929 as an official of the Bureau of Legislative Reference.

HOSKINS, HALFORD LANCASTER, Dickson Professor of History in Tufts College, *European Imperialism in Africa.* (New York, Henry Holt, 1930, pp. x, 118, $1.00.)

This new volume of the Berkshire Studies in European History, with chapters on the European Penetration into Africa, the Partition of the Continent, and the Problems and Consequences of Imperialism, and a useful bibliographical note, measures up to the best of the titles of this series.

IGINO, GIORDANI, *Contemporanei Nord-Americani.* (Turin, Societa Editrice Internationale, 1930, pp. xii, 333.)

A disconcerting selection of twenty-seven American writers made by an Italian for the *Pagine Christine*, a collection edited by Fathers Ubaldi and Colombo, of which this is the tenth volume. Those chosen, "tutti d'un valore eccezionale", are: Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Ireland, Charles Warren Stoddard, Msgr. Pace, James J. Walsh, Henry Harland, Frederick Joseph Kinsman, Dr. John A. Ryan, Henry Longan Stuart, Thomas Walsh, Willa Cather, Harvey Wickham, Edward F. Murphy, Michael Williams, Dr. John M. Cooper, George Barton, Mary H. Austin, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Father John Elliot Ross, George Schuster, Joyce Kilmer, Maurice S. Sheehy, E. Von Rycken Wilson, Aline Kilmer, Mary B. Kolars, Georgiana Putnam McEntee, and Peter Guilday.

JONES, PAUL V. B., Professor of History, the University of Illinois, *Analytical Survey of Modern European History with Assignments and Special Exercises.* Part I, 1500-1815. (New York, Macmillan, 1930, pp. 44, $.50.)

The principal assignments of this useful survey are based on C. J. H. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, vol. I. But there are well selected optional readings, and topical references to sixty subjects are appended. Part II of this analysis is promised.

JUNGHANNS, HERMAN, *Zur Geschichte der Englischen Kirchenpolitik von 1399-1413.* (Freiburg i. B., 1930, pp. 103.)

A doctoral dissertation at the University of Freiburg on the question of Church and State in England during the reign of Henry IV (1399-1413) and the pontificate of Gregory XII (1406-1417), with particular reference to England's share in the Great Western Schism.

KEELER, Sister MARY JEROME, *Étude sur la Poésie et sur le Vocabulaire des de Loys Papon, Poète Forezien du XVIe Siècle.* (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1930, pp. xiii, 105.)

In this doctoral dissertation the chapters are devoted to a life of the subject, his works, versification, vocabulary, composition, orthography, and grammar. From the study of his characteristics, the author associates Papon with the school of Ronsard. There is a full bibliography, the distinctive mark of a doctoral dissertation.

KRAMER, Rev. MICHAEL N., J.C.D., *Church Support in the United States.* (Washington, D. C., The Catholic University of America, Canon Law Studies, No. 61, 1930, pp. 126.)

Describes the method of Church support through the centuries, with a special section devoted to the United States, and a chapter on methods in vogue here from the beginning. Nothing is said of the incorporation of Church property for this purpose before the appointment of John Carroll as first Bishop of Baltimore (1790); and the dispute between Archbishop Maréchal and the holders of the old Maryland properties is not mentioned.

LA DIVINIE, LOUIS, *Les Phases de la Persecution religieuse dans l'Eglise au Mexique des Origines à nos Jours.* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1930, pp. 199.)

This little volume with a preface by the well-known Sulpician Church historian, Father Fernand Mourret, whose *Historie Générale de l'Eglise* in nine volumes is now being translated into English by the Rev. Newton Thompson of Baltimore, is without exception the clearest description yet published on the recent persecution of the Catholic Church in Mexico. A well balanced study in two parts—persecutions under the monarchy and under the republic. The benefits brought to Mexico by Catholicism are treated with true objectiveness and the chapter on abuses under Spanish rule is a necessary introduction to the second part of the volume which deals with the crisis of ecclesiastical matters under Diaz, Huerta, Carranza, Obregon, and Calles. An interesting and highly significant section is devoted to the causes for the silence of the American newspapers during the persecutions of 1924-1928.

LADOUÉ, PIERRE, *Saint Martin de Tours.* (Marseilles, Editions Publiroc, 1930, pp. vi, 252, 9 francs.)

One of the series of popular Lives of the Saints issued by a Catholic publishing house of Marseilles. The volume is based upon the best available sources and is strictly historical in method and treatment. Sulpicius-Severus, St. Paulinus, St. Gregory of Tours are carefully used, and of modern works, those by the Bollandists, Camille Jullian, and Georges Goyau, dominate the text. A well written sketch devoid of the legends of the *trouvères*, past and present, who have found St. Martin of Tours an attractive subject for their genius.

LAFFAN, R. G. D., *Select Historical Documents: 800-1492.* (New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1929, pp. xv, 205, $1.75.)

This is the first of three volumes intended to illustrate history from sources. While the author has omitted much that would be welcome, *e. g.*, there are no Spanish or English documents nor are there French documents before the fourteenth century or documents relating to the Eastern Empire after the Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa, it would be difficult to conceive of a more representative collection in so small a compass, ranging as it does from selections from the Rule of Saint Francis to some of the theses of Marsilius of Padua and from the *Clericis Laicos* of Boniface VIII to the *De Monarchia* of Dante. Not only are the notes impartial but document is set against document so that not the least trace of bias is to be found. We thoroughly commend this book.

LAUX, JOHN, *Church History.* (New York, Benziger Brothers, 1930, pp. xix, 620, $2.25.)

This new high school text book in Church History should receive a hearty welcome and make the task of the teacher in this subject much easier. Well-written and adequately illustrated it should awaken interest in the general history of the Church and especially in American Church history which has been far too often neglected in high school curricula. Father Laux is to be congratulated and thanked.

MARTIN, Sister MARIE ANTOINETTE, *The Use of Indirect Discourse in the Works of St. Ambrose.* Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Vol. XX. (Washington, the University, 1930, pp. xviii, 165.)

As a result of her study, the author of this dissertation has found "an appreciable departure from the usage of the classical language in the structure of this phase of Latin syntax." She also finds a striking similarity in St. Ambrose's use of indirect discourse to the other representatives of the Latinity of his age.

MASON, EDWARD S., *The Paris Commune.* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1930, pp. 386, $5.00.)

Professor Mason in this work gives a critical study of the Paris Commune of 1871. The Commune has been considered by leaders of Socialism, as not merely an incident in French history, but as "an epoch-making event in the world struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie". Prof. Mason considers whether it really was a proletariat movement or socialistic; whether it was a revolutionary class struggle or something entirely different. The work is well documented and contains a good index.

MESSENGER, RUTH ELLIS, *Ethical Teachings in the Latin Hymns of Medieval England.* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1930, pp. 210, $3.50.)

This is an attempt to show that the Latin hymns of medieval England, which are representative of the hymns in general use throughout the medieval world, reflect the culture and particularly the spiritual life of the times. In them one may find stated the moral standards as well as the ethical teachings of the middle ages. Several collections of English hymns are critically analyzed for the purpose of discovering the ethical teachings and the moral standards of the times. There is a large bibliography dealing not only with medieval hymnology but with the religious and social life of the middle ages.

MULLANY, KATHERINE F., *Augustine of Hippo: "The First Modern Man."* (New York, Frederick Pustet Co., 1930, pp. x, 196, $1.75.)

Modestly Miss Mullany claims for her little book nothing more than that it is: a synopsis of the life of St. Augustine, a literary tapestry, the threads for which have been drawn from several, "not many sources, to the end that we may have an attractive and entertaining character-study of one of the most attractive men of all time." She has succeeded well. No better introduction to the great Augustinian Confessions is known to the reviewer. There is little about the works of St. Augustine; little about the controversies in which he engaged, little even about his work in Hippo as bishop, and nothing to justify the sub-title of the book. Miss Mullaney's interest is in the man Augustine: his lapses from grace, his vanity, his heartless treatment of a devoted mother, his wrestling with himself, his conversion, his rise to a life nobler than it had been disgraceful. (F. S. T.)

MURPHY, Sister MARGARET GERTRUDE, A. B., *St. Basil and Monasticism.* Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Vol. XXV. (Washington, D. C., 1930, pp. 112.)

The last treatise of this subject having been published in 1913, there would

seem to be no need of a new work; yet, the author, though approaching the theme in the rôle of a "revisionist" by a critical analysis Lowther Clarke's *Basil the Great* (1913), has made an excellent addition to this type of literature. The stress of asceticism, however, and of monasticism as commonly understood, being too broad, the title is not quite to the point, and the author might have been more precise in naming the thesis "St. Basil and His Monasticism"; and since there is no biography of the Saint called for, it might be still better simply "The Monasticism of St. Basil".

O'Connor, Rev. Dominic, O.M.Cap., *A Brief History of the Diocese of Baker City.* (Baker City, 1930, pp. xxxiii, 203.)

To anyone who has watched the multiplication of diocesan histories the past half-century, this volume will be singularly welcome. The Diocese of Baker City celebrated its silver jubilee in 1928, and at the request of Bishop McGrath, Father O'Connor made a thorough search for materials, original and secondary, and has compiled a volume of exceptional historical merit. Evidently, for a young diocese, the chancery archives and library have been in competent hands from its creation in 1903. A map of the diocese is given, and the volume is prudently illustrated and is published without local advertisements.

Odum, Howard W., and Jocher, Katherine, *An Introduction to Social Research.* (New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1929, pp. xiv, 488.)

A book which has grown out of the specific needs in regional social research at the University of North Carolina, where the two authors are directors of the Institute devoted to that subject. It makes no pretense to an exhaustive treatment of the subject and does not attempt to solve the obscurity surrounding the definition, scope, method or objectives of social sciences in general. There are good chapters on the various approaches to the range of social research—philosophical, analogical, biological, psychological, anthropological, politico-juridic, economic, sociological, and historical. This last chapter on historical method is well worth reading by all students in the field.

Ornstein, Martha, *The Rôle of Scientific Societies in the Seventeenth Century.* (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, pp. 308, $3.00.)

Students of science should be grateful for this detailed and scholarly account of the establishment of the first scientific societies. The purposes and activities of these associations assume great importance when it is realized that they represent the earliest organized effort in "the perfecting of instruments and the cultivation of experimentation". The seventeenth century was a period of transition from the ancient to the modern attitude toward experimentation as a method of inquiry in the physical and biological sciences. A volume which so clearly describes the manner in which these organizations fostered the experimental method is a valuable addition to the history of that period. (H. D. Chambliss.)

Roberts, S. C., *A Picture Book of British History.* 2 volumes. (Cambridge University Press, 1915-1916, pp. 66, 68.)

Mr. Roberts intends this pictorial history of Britain from the earliest times to 1485 to help the teacher make the past live for the students. There are 290 illustrations in the first volume and 200 in the second. The pictures are

grouped several on a page with a brief explanation on the opposite page. The order is chronological, but the author has so arranged the material that it is possible to trace the main developments in architecture, coinage, and manuscripts. The prints are black and white, rather reduced in size, and may be located by means of the table of contents. In the preface to the first volume, the author states that he aimed to fulfill an ideal of interpreting and illustrating history pointed out in Green's *Short History of the English People*. This citation is indicative of Mr. Roberts' emphasis in the illustrations and explanations, especially in the second volume, which is as outlined in Green's history, and hence leaves something to be desired from the Catholic viewpoint. (Sister M. Doris.)

Russell, Charles Edward, *Charlemagne, First of the Moderns*. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930, pp. 306.)

"No other figure of antiquity means so much in so many ways to the modern world as Charlemagne. No other had such a profound effect upon all times succeeding his own, down to these of ours." Upon this thesis, Mr. Russell has delineated in a restrained yet eloquent way the life story and the influence upon civilization of the great Frankish emperor. All available sources are used, but with a circumspection that is admirable. Naturally, Mr. Russell's well-known views on social economics and on democratic ideals are visible in the work, though there is a sympathetic page or two on the rise of the Papal States. The volume is handsomely illustrated; Charlemagne's favorite hymn, the *Veni Creator* is given with the music; and there is a good index.

Scott, Jonathan F., Assistant Professor of History, Washington Square College, New York University, and Baltzly, Alexander, Associate Professor, *Readings in European History since 1814*. (New York, F. S. Crofts and Co., 1930, pp. xxv, 689, $3.50.)

Collections of historical readings are growing in number; all serve their purpose in aiding and stimulating the student in his work. The present volume illustrates the following movements: Congress of Vienna (two of the three selections are taken from the Abbé de Pradt); Reaction and Repression (1815-1830); the Industrial and Agricultural Revolution in the British Isles to 1848 (section 11 prints two excerpts on Catholic Emancipation, from the *Works* of Sydney Smith); the Industrial and Agricultural Revolution on the Continent; the British Isles to 1914; Problems of Democracy and Nationalism; Social Factors and Tendencies; the World War; International Relations, etc.

Thibaut, Dom Raymond, O.S.B., *Un Maitre de la Vie spirituelle: Dom Columba Marmion, Abbé de Maredsous, 1858-1923*. (Namur, Abbaye de Maredsous, 1929, pp. xi, 555.)

There are many priests in the United States who will welcome the publication of this biography of their old friend, and who will welcome likewise the translation which has already been announced. For ten years (1899-1909), Father Columba was the spiritual guide and fast friend of a host of young Americans who prepared for the priesthood in Louvain during that decade. His biographer reveals for the first time the chief events of *l'Affaire Tyrrell*,

and several poignant pages contain the story of how this Irish Benedictine of Belgium strove to save his fellow-countrymen from spiritual disaster. As confessor and spiritual director of Cardinal Mercier during the World War, Dom Columba won a place in the hearts of all who knew how much the great patriot depended upon his judgment and wise direction in moments of crisis. Abbot Columba's *Christ, the Soul of the Monk* and *Christ, the Life of the Soul* are his best known books.

THURSTON, HERBERT, S. J., *No Popery! Chapters on Anti-Papal Prejudice.* (New York, Longmans Green and Co., 1930, pp. x, 319, $3.00.)

This brilliant refutation of stock slanders upon the Church and especially the papacy and the Roman Curia shows that Father Thurston has lost nothing of his old skill in demolishing fiction disguised as scientific conclusions. Whether his victim be a Cambridge savant or a Jewish pornographer, the brilliant use of Protestant witnesses to the contrary and the skillful employment of the deadly parallel leave each with but little to stand on. A thoroughly useful volume.

THURSTON, HERBERT, S.J., Editor, *Butler's Lives of the Saints.* Vols. I and II. (London, Burns, Oates and Washbourne; New York, P. J. Kenedy, 1926, 1930, pp. xix, 411, xiv, 395.)

This time-honored storehouse of saintly lore reappears in a new and refreshingly modern dress. Father Thurston's well-known critical ability has fashioned it into a hagiographical source-book of the utmost value. Adhering to approved scientific standards, he makes us see the fictitious, the doubtful, and the authentic in their proper light; and at the same time, neither "butchers" the work of the original compiler, nor ventures to settle definitively, controverted points. Not the least valuable feature of these first two volumes is the reliable bibiliography appended to each sketch. (W. M. D.)

TORREY, NORMAN L., *Voltaire and the English Deists.* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1930, $2.50.)

A study, objective, complete and thorough, demonstrating the influence of English deists on the development of Voltaire's religious rationalism. Many of the findings lately discovered in Voltaire's private library at Leningrad lend a unique aspect to an appraisal of the bitter opponent of established religion. The author has achieved his end. Some conclusions are to be read with care and reservation.

TOWNSEND, MARY EVELYN, *The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire.* (New York, the Macmillan Co., 1930, pp. xviii, 424.)

A well-documented study of the most remarkable phenomenon of modern times, the growth and destruction of a great colonial empire in half a lifetime, this volume is written with sympathy and appreciation of the German demand for a "place in the sun". Bismarck is given the credit due to him as the creator of the colonial as well as the continental empire. At times sympathy for Germany's loss of her colonies tends, we think unintentionally, to make the author slightly unfair to other powers.

WENDER, HERBERT, Ph.D., Instructor in History, Ohio State University, *Southern Commercial Conventions, 1837-1859.* Johns Hopkins University

Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XLVIII, No. 4. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1930, pp. 240.)

The author's well-developed thesis is that through economic causes the North was gaining power while the South was losing its leadership. To regain their former position and to maintain their institutions the Southerners met in the frequent commercial conventions which are here treated. These meetings failed to accomplish their purpose, but they did arouse a spirit of inquiry and contributed largely to a consolidation of sentiment and opinion.

WRIGHT, WILLIARD HUNTINGTON, *Misinforming a Nation.* (New York, B. W. Huebsch, 1929, pp. 222.)

A presentation of an old thesis, namely that Americans, without any positive aesthetic tradition, have fallen a prey to the "assumed cultural superiority" of England, and that the glaring example is the narrow parochial attitude of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* "The intellectual prejudice and contempt of England for America is even greater if anything than England's religious prejudice and contempt for Catholicism; and this fact should be borne in mind when you consult the *Britannica* for knowledge. . . . No more fatal intellectual danger to America can be readily conceived than this distorted, insular, incomplete, and suggestively British reference work (pp. 216-217)". A list of two hundred important omissions is given.

ZINK, HAROLD, *City Bosses in the United States.* (Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1930, pp. 370, $4.00.)

Mr. Zink presents us with a study of city bosses by a careful analysis of the characters and activities of twenty specific bosses. Those chosen are fairly representative. They differ in time from William M. Tweed, born in 1823, to George W. Olvany, born in 1876; and in location from New York to Chicago, San Francisco and New Orleans. Among those considered are such men as "Big Tim" Sullivan, William Tweed, "Honest John" Kelly, Hugh McLaughlin, Roger Sullivan, etc. They are men of diverse party affiliations, religions, degrees of education, etc. *City Bosses* is divided into two parts. The first presents the men in a group; compares their characters and activities to display what they have in common and in what they differ. The character analysis is concise yet thorough. Section two contains a short history of each. As Mr. Zink states in his preface, most of the material has been gathered from newspaper files and interviews,, while some has been garnered from public documents, memoirs, and political histories. Reference to source material is given with each page in Part II. The subject matter is presented in a precise, interesting, and impartial manner which leaves it free from political and religious bias. It would have added to the merit of the book if Mr. Zink had given us a comprehensive definition or explanation of the general term "city boss" in his introduction or first chapter.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

The Religion of Pre-Historic Man, II. A. D. Frenay, O. P. (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, October).

Herodotus and the Early Hebrew Historians. H. T. Fowler (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, XLIX, pt. 3.)

The Outlook of Greek Culture upon Judaism. Isaac Herzog (*Hibbert Journal*, October).

The Cousins of Our Lord. Andrew Neubeld, O. M. Cap. (*Ecclesiastical Review*, October).

The Birth-Day of Christ. W. P. Upton (*Churchman*, October).

Christ Crucified—and by Whom? H. P. Cooke (*Hibbert Journal*, October). Romans or Jews.

The Historicity and Chronology of the Fourth Gospel. N. Levison (*Holborn Review*, October)).

The Relation of Primitive Christianity to Jewish Thought. W. R. Arnold (*Harvard Theological Review*, July).

The Historical Development of Christian Worship. A. J. Macdonald (*Churchman*, October).

Church and State in the Bible. Ivor Thomas (*Green Quarterly*, Autumn).

Catholic Liturgies of the East. Donald Attwater (*American Church Monthly*, November).

Abbot or Abbots (concluded). H. C. Mann (*Pax*, December).

Christian Medicine and Science in the Third Century. Stephen D'Irsay (*Journal of Religion*, October).

The First Monasteries. E. H. Sawyer (*Antiquity*, September).

A Protestant View of Toleration. G. G. Coulton (*Contemporary Review*, September).

The Contribution of Venerable Duns Scotus to Catholic Education. J. H. Ryan (*Catholic Educational Review*, November).

Some Aspects of Our Puritan Inheritance. E. C. Moore (*Harvard Theological Review*, July).

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